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TO JAMES MAC INTOSH, ESQ.

SIR,—In resuming the subject of your defence of Mr. Peltier, I think it not unnecessary to re-state the motives, by which I am actuated in this discussion. Nothing is more common than to impute animadversions, such as I have entered on with respect to your speech, to some private and sinister motive; but, it is next to an impossibility, that I should be so actuated in the present instance. You have never had any dispute or concern with me; I never saw you above three times in my life; the sentiments I have heard you utter, as to public matters, were such as I could not dislike, and your revolutionary or other writings I have never read. My mind was, with regard to you, a sheet of blank paper, and happy should I have been to fill it up with commendations. Nor, if I have taken a different course, is my conduct to be ascribed to a desire to censure you, but to remove censure, accumulated and unmerited censure, from the conduct and the character of your client, who, as I before observed, incurs, from the unqualified praises of your defence, a new condemnation. This is, this must be, evident to every man, that, if your defence was *the best that ever was made,* Mr. Peltier's must have been *a most desperate cause.* Had not the news-papers joined in concert to extol your speech, had that speech not been publicly represented as the highest exertion of human talent, I might, nevertheless, have perceived its defects, and I certainly should have lamented its total inefficacy; but I should not have thought myself called upon for any observations upon it; I should have left my readers to form their own judgment, and should have contented myself with silent regret. The commendations, the systematic, the unbounded applause, bestowed on the speech, totally altered the case. From the moment it became a subject of praise, through the channel of the press, it became a legitimate subject of discussion; and, when it was considered that such praise must operate to the prejudice of Mr. Peltier, that discussion became, in my opinion, an imperious duty with every one who thought as I did, and who had similar means in his hands.—Such, Sir, are the motives which have induced me to take up the pen, and these motives will, I am persuaded, meet with the approbation of every sensible and honourable man.

2. The second point of view, in which I am about to consider your defence, is, as it relates to the *precedents* on which the prosecution was founded.—The doctrine of a libel, Sir, I take to be this: that any thing spoken or written, or even any ludicrous drawings or pictures, that tend to the ridicule or debasement of a person, and to the bringing of him into disrepute, may irritate such an one to commit a breach of the peace; and, that the truth of the matter, so spoken or written, does not diminish the guilt of the libel, because, true or false, it equally tends to a breach of the King's peace. But, when this law of libels (which, by the by, appears to have grown out of the "*blessed* art of printing") was promulgated, it never entered into the minds of our ancestors, that this rule, however politic and expedient amongst the subjects of the same country, should extend to men and things out of the jurisdiction and allegiance of the laws and sovereign of this realm. Buonaparté did not owe local allegiance here, and consequently was without the pale of the law of England, every maxim of which is built upon the ground of perfect equality and reciprocity; that is to say, every one that can sue or prosecute another, is liable to be sued or prosecuted by that other, for a similar damage or offence. But, Buonaparté cannot be prosecuted for a libel against Mr. Peltier: he may libel him, his Official Gazette has libelled him, the libels have been published in this realm, and the law cannot reach the offender, nor is it reasonable that it should, because one of the parties not being here, and not having the faculty of coming here, his libels cannot possibly tend to a breach of the peace. Nothing, therefore, is so clear, nothing so manifestly just, that, for no libel, or pretended libel, against Buonaparté, published in this realm, ought Mr. Peltier, or any other person, to be considered as liable to punishment by the English law. In opposition,

however, to these wise and just maxims, two *precedents* were cited: one the decision with respect to Lord George Gordon's attack on the late unfortunate and lamented Queen of France; and the other, the censure on the conduct and character of the late Emperor of Russia by Mr. Vint, the then editor of the Courier. I do not pretend to say, that these precedents were not fairly put forward; but, it appears to me, that you should have observed, that they were precedents of a very modern date, and of a very dangerous tendency. It was certainly worthy of remark, that, during the long and glorious annals of our country, during *twelve centuries* of jurisprudence, no similar case could be found till within *twenty years!* Precedents, though of some weight, are frequently to be admitted with great distrust, especially if they be recent, and more particularly if they be contrary to the spirit of the law; and, if they be found to form an innovation upon long and established maxims and practice, they are, and ought to be, almost always set aside. Their *novelty* does, indeed, in some instances, arise out of the necessary novelty of the case. A precedent, for instance, touching the forgery of Bank notes cannot be expected to be more ancient than the invention of that sort of currency, because the offence could not possibly have a previous existence. But, a similar apology could not have been set up, in the present case; the matter for libels, the means of libelling, and the law of libels, had all existed for upwards of twelve hundred years, in this country; and, therefore, the recent, the very recent date, of the precedents cited by the Attorney General, was a strong presumption against them; and, if it had been clearly and forcibly stated, must have had great weight in the minds of the jury. The *danger*, too, of implicitly admitting these precedents might have been dwelt on with singular propriety. The jury should, in my opinion, have been cautioned against giving encouragement to foreign powers to interfere in our domestic conduct. It should have been stated to them, that, if we should, unhappily, ever be governed by ministers, ready to sacrifice us to a foreign power, and, for their own interest's sake, to render us subject to that power; if ever this nation should be so situated, it should have been stated, that, to favour the nefarious views of such ministers, it was not in the mind of man to conceive any means so efficacious as the unqualified adoption of the precedents on which the prosecution of Mr. Peltier was founded: for, in such a state, menaced with such danger, the salvation of the country must entirely and absolutely depend upon an opposition on the part of the people; and, as that opposition must arise, in the first instance, from the suggestions of individuals, crying against the machinations of the power by whom their liberties and independence were threatened, the silencing of those individuals by the arm of law must of necessity lead to the intended subjugation. There are, indeed, different degrees in censure, as well as in most other things; but, having once generally acknowledged the broad unlimited precedent, having once dipped into the poison, there is no knowing were the effects will end. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.*—But, supposing these precedents to have been founded in wisdom and in justice, as relating to the Queen of France and the Emperor of Russia, still, it remained to be shown, that they were in point with respect to Buonaparté and to the case of your client. And, here it was not only justifiable, but even necessary for you to show, the wide difference between the two former and the Corsican chief. The precedent of the Queen of France could not apply, because she was neither the *sovereign* nor the *chief magistrate* of a foreign country, and that of the Emperor of Russia could not apply because *he was not in what Buonaparté is.* The virtual distinction might be nice, but still there was a distinction, and the precedents were not, therefore, *in point.* You had further to contend, and on the best possible ground, that there was a very great difference indeed, between the cases cited, and that of your client, if considered with regard to the *provocation.* It has been said, that you had to try only the dry question of *guilty* or *not guilty*, and that, therefore, you had nothing to do with any part of the character or conduct of Buonaparté. This is new doctrine, doctrine never before heard of in an English court of justice. What is it that constitutes the libel? *Falsehood* and *malice.* The former has been of late years set aside; but *malice* is still an essential quality. No matter how libellous the thing may be in itself, it must, to make it criminal, be *malicious*; and, as the jury were the judges of the law as well as of the fact, it was your business to convince them, that your client stood, with respect to Buonaparté, in a predicament widely different from that in which the libellers of the Queen of France and the Emperor of Russia stood with respect to those personages. "It was a dry question of guilty "or not guilty." Very true, this was the *ultimate* question, but to come at a decision of it, there was a previous question: to wit: whether the writing was *malicious*, and published with a *mischievous intention.* If the

act of publishing, and the libellousness of the words (in themselves considered), had been all that was necessary to constitute the crime, then, indeed, the question would have been as dry as you please; but an inquiry into the *motive* would not have been so very dry. This enquiry would have led you, it must have led you, into an examination of the character and conduct of Buonaparté; for, that which may be extremely malicious when spoken of one man, may be not at all malicious when spoken of another man. If, for instance, I bestow the name of *tyger* on a man, who is well known to beat his wife, to dash his children on the floor, to half-starve and lacerate his apprentices, and if I am indicted for this as a libel, I am not allowed to urge the truth in justification, I cannot urge the truth, because a man cannot be a tyger; but, though what I have said, or written, be evidently false, would a jury say that it was *malicious* to call such a man a tyger? No; but, they would justly regard as malicious *the very same term* when applied to a quiet neighbour, an affectionate husband, a tender father, and a kind benevolent master. In speaking, or writing, of a wretch, notoriously guilty of all the most shocking and horrid crimes, my expressions, however harsh, my wishes, however hostile, my execrations, however bitter, ought not to be imputed to *malice*, to badness of design, to deliberate mischief, but to that natural, that involuntary, that virtuous hatred, which God, for the best purposes, has planted in the human breast; but, if I give way to the very same expressions, wishes, and execrations, against a man guilty of no such crimes, I am justly chargeable with that species of malice, which constitutes the principal and always an essential ingredient of criminal libel. For this reason, this sound and obvious reason, it is, that the general character and conduct of the party libelled have always been held to be fair and relevant topics in a defence against the charges of an information or indictment.—There was another light, too, in which the application of the precedents ought to have been considered. The libellers of the Queen of France and the Emperor of Russia had suffered *no injury* at the hands of the parties libelled, either in their own persons or character, or the persons or character of their relations, or those of their lawful sovereigns. Were these, then, precedents in point? Do not the injuries of Mr. Peltier, do not the wounds inflicted on him, his relations, his friends, and his native sovereign, do not these deep and mortal wounds sufficiently account for his expressions, without having recourse to the imputation of *malice*? Shall the martyr, writhing at the stake, be accused of *malice*, because he execrates the hand that feeds the inexorable flames? *Resentment*, open, undisguised resentment, is not malice; and, I repeat again and again, Sir, that if there be no malice, there is no libel. On this point, therefore, it appears to me, that you should have entered into a clear and detailed exposition of the divers injuries and acts of persecution, which your client, his relations, and his lawful sovereign, had experienced at the hands of the person, on whose behalf the prosecution was instituted. But, instead of this, you chose, for reasons best known to yourself, to represent the insulting and cruel offer of an amnesty, which was tendered to Mr. Peltier as well as others, as an act of *indulgence*; and, for having rejected this offer, which, amongst other degrading conditions, required of him to abjure his sovereign; for having had the firmness to reject an offer like this, for having given this proof of his loyalty, you do not venture even to *commend* him! This part of your speech is too curious not to be quoted. "I do not mean "to undervalue this *indulgence*; on the con- "trary, *I am disposed to rate it high*; but my "client and *a few* others, conceiving them- "selves bound, from a feeling of *loyalty*, "which I neither make the subject of *com-* "*mendation* or of *blame*, to refuse to profit "by this permission. I do not, as I said, "make this refusal a matter of *praise* or of "*censure*; I only hope, that you will not "judge *too severely* of my client for what *he* "*conceives* to be a just and honourable de- "votion to the allegiance, under which he "was born." Now, Sir, was this a specimen of that "*intrepidity*," which you were pleased to represent as the characteristic of the English bar? Was this the sort of language to hold in the Court of *King's* Bench; in a *royal* court of justice; in a court where his Majesty is ever supposed to preside in person? Was this the place, and was this the occasion, Sir, to make an *apology* for the *loyalty* of your client? Or was it not the place and the time to applaud Mr. Peltier, and to draw a comparison between his conduct and that of his prosecutor, who was fed and educated by the bounty of the King of France? Was it not the very place and the very time, above all others, to remind your audience, that the liberties of Englishmen were once destroyed by an hypocritical, perfidious, and sanguinary usurper? It was, and you did remind them of it; you did speak of Cromwell; but you took care to prefix the epithets "*guilty* and *infamous*," not to the name of that atrocious rebel, but to that of the lawful prince, by whose happy

RESTORATION the rebellion was terminated! What, Sir; give me leave to ask, what could induce you, in a defence of a French royalist against Buonaparté; what could possibly induce you to seize such an occasion to vilify an ancestor of your own sovereign, and to choose from the long and illustrious list, precisely that prince, who was once in the situation, in which the sovereign of your client now is? Would it not, if you had spoken at all of King Charles II. have been more natural to remind the jury of the unfeigned and unbounded joy, which the people felt and expressed at his return to the throne? To remind them, that the day of his restoration has ever since been kept as a festival in the church, as a day of public exultation, and of thanksgiving to Almighty God for having, by the means of this gracious prince, delivered our country from a low bred, gloomy, jealous, black-hearted usurper, who, while he styled it a republic, exercised over it the most cruel and inexorable despotism? And might you not, Sir, in applying this to the case of your client, have justly observed, that those Englishmen, who, during the exile of King Charles, faithfully adhered, like Mr. Peltier, to the cause of their native sovereign, have ever been regarded as patterns of political excellence; and that, while their names are remembered with veneration and gratitude, those of the base wretches, who bowed at the feet of the usurper, are either lost in oblivion or preserved only to their infamy? Here too, you might have returned, as I now do, more immediately to the merits of your case, and might have put it to the consciences of the jury, whether they could have regarded, as proceeding from *malice*, any of the attacks made on Cromwell, through the channel of the press, by the injured and oppressed, the robbed and persecuted cavaliers?—"It was a dry question "of *guilty or not guilty!*" So it is on every such issue; but, as I observed before, there are many previous questions to be answered before we come at this dry question, and all these are full of matter. The general character, the previous conduct, the relative situation, of the parties, their crimes or their virtues, are all to be considered; they form the materials of the defence, because it is from them and from them alone, that a right judgment can be formed of the *motives* of the accused, and it is not the act *alone*, but the *act in conjunction with the motive*, which constitutes the crime. The charge in the information was, "That JEAN PEL-"TIER, being a *malicious* and *ill-disposed* "*person*, and unlawfully and *maliciously de-*"*vising* and *intending*, &c. &c." Who shall say, then, that it was "a dry question of "guilty or not guilty?" Who shall say, that the general character and conduct of the parties had nothing to do with this question? Who shall say, that it was not necessary to show, that, the character and conduct of Buonaparté were sufficient to call forth the indignant expressions and sentiments of Mr. Peltier without the aid of *malice* or *ill-disposition?* Who shall say, that it would not have been strictly regular and relevent for you to endeavour to convince the jury, that the words and the wishes of Mr. Peltier bore not the mark of "*maliciously devising* and *intending*," but were, on the contrary, the spontaneous ebullitions, the natural offspring, of virtuous indignation and abhorrence, called involuntarily forth by the character and the deeds of the prosecutor? Who, Sir, would have dared, who would have had the impudence and the baseness, to censure you for thus removing the charge of *malice*, and, thereby, destroying the very essence of the crime imputed to your client?

3. Having considered your defence as relative to the topics and arguments, which, in my opinion, naturally presented themselves as the means of repelling the force of the precedents on which, and on which alone, the prosecution was brought into court, I propose next to consider it (in rather an inverted order, perhaps) as relative to the *principle* which gave rise to those precedents.—The *novelty* of the precedents has been already pointed out; but, it is urged, that, if the precedents themselves are novel, the principle out of which they arose, is as ancient as the law of libels. This principle is, that all words and pictures, which are spoken or published with a malicious intention, and which expose a person to hatred, contempt, or ridicule, are criminal, not because they do so expose him, but because, by producing in his mind irritation and a desire of revenge, they have an evident tendency to cause a breach of the peace; and this principle, though so obviously intended to be confined to persons and things *within* the realm, and within the pale of its law, has, in the precedents cited in this case, been extended to persons and things *out of* the pale of that law: it has, at the end of a long succession of ages, been discovered to be of a nature so pliable and plastic, as to be capable of assuming any form, and of being stretched to any extent. That which was devised for the sole purpose of preserving the King's peace, that is to say, for insuring the personal safety of his subjects against the violent assaults of each other, has now been applied

to the purpose, or the pretended purpose, of preserving the peace between nations, and insuring the safety of the country itself against foreign fleets and armies. This principle, thus applied, puts one in mind of Lord Peters's "pickle for houses, gardens, trees, men, women, children, and cattle; quite a thing of catholic use and emolument." It may be, in itself, ancient, but this application of it is entirely modern; and, indeed, it has undergone a change, a metamorphosis, such as, I believe, no principle ever before underwent.—This, Sir, in terms as much more happy and forcible as might be, it was, in my opinion, your business to point out, illustrating your position by such probable cases as would have discovered at once its intrinsic preposterousness, and the great danger of its tendency. The law, the ancient and established law of libels, proceeds upon a definite maxim, a maxim invariably true. It punishes a libel, because a libel tends to a breach of the King's peace; and it punishes a breach of the King's peace, because such a breach is *always a crime*. But, how does this principle apply to the peace of England with relation to foreign powers, to disturb which, for years together, is *no crime at all*. To break the King's peace is *necessarily criminal;* but to break the peace between this country and another *may be an act highly meritorious*. It will not do to say, that the latter may be sometimes criminal, and sometimes not criminal: the principle, to be worth any thing, must be uniform and impartial in its operation; and, therefore, if it be criminal at one time, it is so at another time; if it be criminal in Mr. Peltier, it was criminal in Mr. Pitt. To say that Mr. Pitt acted in the name of his Majesty, who was himself the guardian of the country, makes nothing against my argument; for, a magistrate acts in the name of his Majesty, who is the guardian of the peace also; and, we all know, that a magistrate may be prosecuted for any libel that tends to a breach of that peace.—But, preposterous as this principle is, the *danger* of its tendency is a consideration of much greater weight. By opening an unbounded latitude of *construction*, it exposes to the decision of caprice, of self-interest, of corruption, or of mere chance, not only the property, but the personal freedom, and eventually the life, of every man who, though actuated by the purest, most innocent and most honourable motives, shall venture to write on the subject of foreign affairs. We all know what tends to a breach of the King's peace: when a man is called a thief, or represented as an ass, amongst his neighbours, and that by a person living in the same country, we know that he must be angry, and must entertain such a desire of revenge as naturally tends to a breach of the King's peace, which breach it is *always within his power to make*. But, who can say, what jury can possibly determine the degree of this species of provocation likely to produce war with a foreign country? Peace or war must always depend upon interest, upon means, and, indeed, upon a multitude of considerations, which are totally unconnected with the private feelings of the sovereign or chief of the nation, who therefore, however grossly libelled, has not always *the power of breaking the peace* with another nation; whereas, as I before observed, an enraged individual has always the power of breaking the King's peace. This principle extends, too, to *a whole nation* as well as to its chief; for, it is well known that wars, though factious republicans and levellers have ascribed them exclusively to the passions of princes, have frequently arisen out of the passions of the people: and, therefore, any publication which tends to expose *a whole people* to the hatred, contempt, or ridicule of other nations, may, according to this principle, be the subject of a criminal prosecution; because, whether true or false, and for whatever purpose intended, whether for the gratification of malice, or for the prevention of an introduction of foreign manners and foreign vices, it equally tends to irritate and inflame the said people, and, of course, to disturb the peace existing between them and this realm. Silence, therefore, must be strictly observed with regard to the robberies, the murders, the apostacies, the blasphemies, of the French republicans; a veil must be drawn over their follies and all their crimes; and our Sovereign and his people must forego every advantage, every motive to content, every means of security, furnished by that awful lesson the revolution of France. I am aware, that the Attorney-General attempted to draw a line between an *historical fact* and a *fanciful description*; but, to say nothing about the mortal blow which this gives to the principle on which the justification of *truth* is rejected in such cases, where did the Attorney-General find this distinction *in law?* and, had you not here, Sir, a most auspicious opportunity of shewing the versatility of the principle altogether, by pointing out to the court and jury, that the passage for which Mr. Vint was prosecuted, as being a libel on the Emperor of Russia, was *a relation of an historical fact!* The words were these: "The

" Emperor of Russia is rendering himself " obnoxious to his own subjects by various " acts of tyranny, and ridiculous to the rest " of Europe by his inconsistency. He has " lately published an edict to prohibit the " exportation of deals and other naval " stores, in consequence of which, hundreds " of sails of vessels are returning to this " country without freight."—I am really astonished, Sir, that this inconsistency, which exhibits in so strong a light the accommodating quality of the principle on which your client was prosecuted, should have escaped your animadversion. This affected distinction was, indeed, evidently absurd, when considered as to the ultimate object protessed by the information, to wit: to prevent a libeller from disturbing the peace between the two countries; for, who could possibly believe, that the epigrams, the fanciful descriptions, of Mr. Peltier were half so likely to produce a rupture of the peace, as were the historical facts related by Sir Robert Wilson? Do not these historical facts tend to vilify Buonaparté, and to bring him into disrepute and disgrace, amongst those over whom he exercises dominion? Does not Sir Robert's plain unvarnished detail of facts tend more immediately to expose the first magistrate of France to the hatred, detestation and contempt, not only of his own countrymen, but of every individual in Europe? does not such a detail tend more directly and more powerfully to irritate Buonaparté, and, of course, to cause a breaking of the peace on his part, than any fanciful satire by either poet or proser? And, if this be so, what becomes of the Attorney-General's affected distinction?—So that, if we admit the principle on which the precedents in this case were founded, there is an end at once to all publications, of whatever sort, levelled against any foreign potentate or people, with whom we are at peace; and we are for ever debarred, in this respect, from all the advantages, whether in morals, religion, or politics, to be derived from the genius of the poet or the labours of the historian. The speculating politician must be totally silent; for nothing, not a word, can he say to caution his country against the machinations of any foreign power; he cannot even state that such power is hostilely inclined; he cannot, though he should be fully persuaded, though he himself should know, that such power is actually preparing to attack his country; whatever may be his opinion or his knowledge of facts, he cannot state either without [illegible] to this principle, to a [illegible] prosecution for publications calculated to irritate the potentate in question, and thereby to provoke him to a breach of the peace.—Here, then, the danger of this pernicious principle reaches its acme: it not only silences the voice of the poet, the moralist, and the historian, as to all the useful lessons to be drawn from the follies, the vices, and the crimes of other nations, but it seals up the lips of every man who has the sagacity to perceive the dangers with which his country is threatened, and the courage to endeavour to animate the people with that spirit, by which alone their independence and their happiness can possibly be preserved.

4. But, Sir, if you had failed, which I hardly think you would, in convincing the court and jury, of the utter absurdity of this principle, and of the great danger of admitting it, as a ground of prosecution, in any case whatever; still it remained for you to show, and, I imagine, you might easily have shown, that even this principle, pliable as it is, would not, with any show of justice, admit of *an application to the case of your client*.—That which is principally to be considered, that which must finally be considered, as constituting the crime imputed to your client, is, the *consequence* likely to be produced by his publications, which consequence is *a rupture of the peace*, existing between this country and the person against whom the publications were made.—Before, however, I enter on the arguments relating to this part of the subject, it seems necessary to make a few remarks as to the meaning and object of the words published by Mr. Peltier. He had called Buonaparté a tyger and a tyrant, whether with propriety or not, it was, as I before stated, your business to shew, in your examination of the precedents cited by the Attorney General; but, the heaviest charge, that which referred to what was allowed to be the principal cause of irritation in the mind of the Corsican, and that which certainly had the greatest weight in the decision of the jury, was, that the words of your client were *intended to excite the oppressed people of France to* ASSASSINATE *their ruler*. And, here, before I proceed to shew the absurdity of this charge, I must particularly notice one of the passages, on which this odious construction was put, merely from *a misinterpretation*. In the French it runs thus:

" Pour moi, loin qu'à son sort je porte quelqu'
" envie,
" Qu'il nomme, j'y consens, son digne successeur,
" Sur le pavois porté, qu'on l'élise empereur!
" Enfin, et Romulus nous rappelle la chose,
" Je fais vœu . . . dès demain qu'il ait *l'apothéose*!"

These words were, by Mr. Broughton,

the sworn interpreter, translated in the following manner:—"As for me, far from "envying his lot, let him name, I consent "to it, his worthy successor. Carried on "the shield, let him be elected emperor! "Finally, and (Romulus recalls the thing "to mind), I wish that on the morrow he "may have *his* apotheosis." That Mr. Broughton's misinterpretation proceeded from a want of knowledge on the subject is evident from the illustration, which, in print, he has since given of the rule, on which his translation was made; but still it was a *misinterpretation*, and, as the charge of exciting to assassination was made to rest principally upon this passage, you might have made something more than a very feeble attempt to have put the court and jury right with respect to it; especially, as you are, I am told, considered as a proficient in French literature and philology.*—The pronoun *his*, relating evidently to Romulus, the meaning is, that Mr. Peltier wished Buonaparté to experience his (Romulus's) fate, which was, according to the opinions of historians, that of being placed in the list of the gods, after having been *assassinated* by the Romans. But "*his* apotheosis" is not a fair translation of "*l'*apothéose." *Le*, in this case, is the definite article, and that article can never be translated into English by the possessive pronoun, except when it is found before the name of *the whole or some part of the body*, (human or not) *or that of some quality, faculty, or property of the body or mind.* For instance: *il a* LE *bras court*—HIS *hand is short*:—*il a* LE *pas lent*—HIS *step is slow*:—*il a* LA *voix très-belle*—HIS *voice is very fine*:—*il a* L'*esprit très éclairé*—HIS *mind is very much enlightened.*—In all these examples, and in every other of the kind that can possibly be given, the noun, before which the article is placed, represents something which *belongs to*, and which is *inseparable from* the *body or mind of the person or animal spoken of*; and, in no other possible case, can the French definite article be rendered in English by the possessive pronoun. You cannot say, *il a* LE CHAPEAU *noir*—HIS HAT *is black*; but you may that *il a* LES CHEVEUX *noirs*—HIS HAIR *is black*; because the *hat* is not a part of the body, and because the *hair* is a part of it. Therefore, "L'*apothéose*," never can be rendered in English by "HIS "*apotheosis*," and, of course, the word *his*, which made the word apotheosis apply to Romulus, which gave the invidious and malignant meaning to the sentence in question, and which probably produced the conviction of Mr. Peltier, was a misinterpretation; and thus, *an instigation to assassinate* the Corsican was gathered from a verse, in which the poet simply expresses a wish, that the said Corsican *may be deified*, and which verse, if it had expressed a desire to send him *to the devil*, would have been regarded as perfectly harmless!—But, the charge of exciting to assassination, particularly in *poetry*, might, by a reference to almost any of our satirical poets, have been rendered so completely ridiculous, as to make the prosecutor blush for having seriously advanced it. SWIFT, in his description of the Irish Parliament, says,

"Could I from the building's top
"Hear the rattling thunder drop,
"While the devil upon the roof
"(If the devil be thunder proof)
"Should, with poker fiery red,
"Crack the stones, and melt the lead;
"Drive them down on every skull;
"While the den of thieves is full;
"*Quite destroy that harpies nest*,
"How might then our isle be blest!"

Is not this a wish full as wicked as that of Mr. Peltier, who only desires to see Buonaparté *deified*?—There is another passage or two, of the same writer, in a poem entitled "*Wood an Insect*," and by which Wood, was well known to be meant William Wood, who had a contract from government for supplying Ireland with copper coin, and who had, in consequence of that contract, and of the writings of Swift, become extremely odious amongst the common people in particular.

"The Louse of the Wood for a med'cine is us'd,
"Or swallow'd alive or skilfully bruis'd.
"And let, then, our mother Hibernia contrive
"To *swallow* Will Wood, either *bruis'd* or *alive*.
* * * * * *
"But now since the Drapier hath heartily mauld him,
"I think the best thing we can do is to *scald him*.
"For which operation there's nothing more proper
"Than the liquor he deals in, his own melted copper.
"Unless, like the Dutch, you rather would *boil*
"This coiner of rapa *in a cauldron of oil*.
"Then chuse which you please, and *let each bring*
"*a faggot*,
"For our fear's at an end with the *death of the*
"*maggot*."

Now, though these verses were distributed about amongst the mob of Dublin, who, in their rage, were certainly as likely to *bruise* a man and put him under ground, or

* In order to give to my assertions, on this point, that weight to which they are duly and fairly entitled, I think it necessary to state, for the satisfaction of those of my readers who may not understand French themselves, my pretensions to decide on the meaning of any passage in that language. I am the author of a work, entitled LE MAITRE ANGLOIS, intended to teach Frenchmen English, and written, of course, in French. The work was first published in America; but, it has since been re-published in France, has been adopted by the *Prytanée François*, and has, under their sanction, been received in all the schools of France.

to *scald* him or *boil* him, as any set of people in the world, who ever accused Swift of exciting them to *assassinate* this maker of half-pence? Who ever had the folly to suppose that the Dean had any such excitement in view, or that this poem had any other object than that of keeping alive a spirit of watchfulness, and, perhaps, of public indignation, against a man, whom the writer regarded as a peculator, and as an enemy of the country? And would not a lawyer have been hooted out of court, if he had attempted to impute a satire like this to an intention such as that imputed to Mr. Peltier? Yet, it must be evident to every one, who has eyes to see, ears to hear, and who possesses the very humble faculty of making a comparison between the two writings, that the poem of Swift was much more likely to lead to assassination than were the fragments and epigrams of your client, which, besides their being published in a country where the Corsican Consul did not reside, could not, as the publisher well knew, be admitted into that country where he did reside, and where, if assassination had been intended, the assassins were only to be found.—After all, however, and to come to the close of this wearisome discussion, it was not the expressions cited in the information, it was not the sentiments conveyed by those expressions, it was not the motive by which the defendant had been actuated, nor was it the degree of irritation probably produced in the mind of the Corsican, that formed the principal points of inquiry; these were all leading points, indeed, but the ultimate question was, *were the publications likely to cause a rupture of the peace existing between England and France?* For, whatever might be nature of them, however bad in themselves, and from whatever wicked motive arising, still, unless they had a tendency, and even an evident tendency, to bring, in some way or other, injury upon His Majesty or his subjects, they were, in the eye of the law, perfectly innocent. To make out this injury, therefore, it was alledged, that they tended "to *interrupt*, *disturb*, and *destroy* the FRIENDSHIP and "PEACE, subsisting between our said Lord "the King and his subjects, and the said "Napoleon Buonaparté, &c. &c." And, the Attorney General clearly stated this to be the *only* ground on which he came into court. "Because," said he, "I think, "that this libel tends to *endanger the tran*"*quillity between this country and a nation with* "*whom we are at peace*, I prosecute the au"thor. *That charge* brings me, and it brings "the defendant, this day before you." Thus, then, the whole question was, at last, brought into a very narrow compass; here was the pivot, on which the fate of your client was to turn. And, Sir, astonished, astonished was I to see, that you made use of no one argument, that you cited no one fact out of the thousand that presented themselves, in order to convince the jury, that no libel or any other species of provocation, could possibly render Buonaparté more the enemy of our king and country than he already was, or could induce him to hasten by the space of only one single moment, those plans which he has conceived for our impoverishment and destruction. Here, Sir, it was, that I would have entered into a history, not of the ambition of Louis XIV, not of that "*infamous* "*transaction* and *public robbery*," the partition of Poland, not, in short, of the crimes of kings and the virtues of republics, "particularly a new republic of British growth;" this is not the sort of history I would have entered into, but a history of the conduct of Napoleon Buonaparté with respect to Europe in general and to England in particular, since the conclusion of the peace of Amiens; and, I think, I could have shown, Sir, that, from the signature of that ruinous and disgraceful compact to the moment in which you were speaking, this abused and deluded country *never had been really and truely at peace*; and, that the person, in whose behalf the prosecution was commenced, instead of living in *friendship* with us, had constantly been loading our Sovereign and his people with every species of injury and insult that the mind of the bitterest enemy could possibly devise. I would have cited some few, at least, of the numerous and infamous libels, which had been circulated against us, in every country in Europe, through the channel of his official gazette; but, in particular, I would have shown, that the strongest of the publications, which were imputed to Mr. Peltier as a crime, were published *subsequent* to the arrival of that atrocious libel, in which the Corsican's official gazette styles His Majesty the *rewarder of assassins*, and which might well have justified words ten thousand times as harsh, wishes ten thousand times as bitter, as those ascribed to your client. "The "*friendship* subsisting between His Majesty "and Buonaparte!" *Friendship* and *peace* subsisting between us and the Corsican! What a glorious field for the display of oratorical talents! I would have rung these words in the ears of the Attorney General, until, soft and sweet as they are to a "*safe* "politician," they should have sounded to him more dismal than the knell of his father;

and, as to the jury, I will not believe, that any twelve honest men upon the face of the earth, hearing what might have been said in defence of your client, would have hesitated one moment to pronounce him *not guilty*.*

Here, Sir, I conclude my remarks. I have discharged a duty, imposed on me by the laws of honour and hospitality; and, though you may, perhaps, remind me, that I should have done well to keep this defence *for my own use*, I shall not thereby be put out of humour, or led to view my present effort with regret. Seeing the disgraceful situation of my country, I cannot feel much anxiety as to its favour or its frowns, its justice or its injustice: if we are to be slaves, it is of little consequence whether we are surrounded by the walls of a jail or by the waves of the sea.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant, W. COBBETT.

London, 9th March, 1803.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Constantinople, Jan. 10.—On the 26th of Dec. in the evening, an adjutant of General Stuart, had a conference with the Reis Effendi, and proposed, in the name of the English government, that the Porte should grant a pardon to the Egyptian Beys, and assign them a distant place in Upper Egypt for their residence, where they should engage to live peaceably, and conduct themselves as faithful subjects of the Porte.—The Reis Effendi, who had expected very different proposals from the English adjutant, answered, that the Porte would communicate its determination on this subject to the English Ambassador, Lord Elgin. The latter accordingly had several conferences with the Reis Effendi, and the negotiation was yesterday evening brought to a conclusion, as Lord Elgin took his leave of the Grand Vizier. The Porte has, in fact, contrary to general expectation, granted a pardon to the Beys, under the following conditions:—1. The cavalry of the Mamelukes shall enter immediately into the service of the Pacha of Cairo —2. The Porte will assign to the six insurgent Beys, the little town of Awan, in Upper Egypt, where they shall reside in peace, and subject to the Porte, without interfering, in any manner, in the public affairs and government of Egypt.—As soon as this convention was concluded, Lord Elgin declared officially to the Grand Vizier, that Egypt should be immediately evacuated by the English troops, which would be conveyed from thence to Malta.—On the 6th, the French Ambassador, General Brune, arrived here with the squadron from Toulon, consisting of a ship of the line, a frigate, 2 brigs and 2 corvettes. This squadron likewise brought the French agents of legation and commerce destined for the different ports of the Levant.

Rome, Feb. 17.—His Holiness, by virtue of the right conferred upon him by the great powers of Europe, of appointing the Grand Master of the order of Malta, has chosen M. le Bailly de Thomasi, a Neapolitan Knight. The Commander De Busy has set out from Rome for Sicily to carry to the new GrandMaster the brief of election, conferring upon him that dignity.

Ratisbon, Feb. 18.—The extraordinary Deputation of the Empire held this day the 46th sitting. The Directorial Minister, on that occasion, announced the receipt of a decree on the evening before, from the Imperial Minister, by which he accedes to the decision relative to the Indemnities to be granted to the courts of the Empire, and intimates that he has made a communication to this effect to the ministers of the mediating powers. —*Feb.* 19. The Deputation of the Empire yesterday held their 45th sitting, in which the Directorial Minister announced that the Elector Arch-Chancellor was ready to undertake the payment of the subsidies destined for the support of the higher clergy.—The city of Passau was not evacuated, pursuant to a decree on the 12th of this month.

Brest, Feb. 23.—General Decaen has arrived there.—This general, appointed captain-general of our settlements in India, reviewed the same day the troops that are to be sent there. He was received in the road with all the honours due to his rank. The expedition to India will soon be in a condition to sail.

*Berne, Feb.*23. Gen. Serras arrived here yesterday from Paris. There is to be established in each canton a commission of seven members, in order to put into activity the new cantonal constitution. Six of these members are appointed by our deputies at Paris, and the seventh by the First Consul. As soon as the cantonal commissions shall have entered upon their functions, the present government will dissolve itself. The epoch of that dssolution is fixed for the 10th of March.

Hague, March 1.—The government has officially announced, that all the West-India Colonies taken by the British during the war, have been finally given up, in consequence of the peace, to the Batavian Republic.—Last Tuesday arrived from Paris, one of the aids-de-camp of General Victor, with an order from the First Consul that General Cæsar Berthier should remain in his appointment of chief officer of the staff for the expedition to Louisiana, and should not obtain that new employment, which was some time intended for him by the First Consul. The naval minister writes to General Victor, that he has given the necessary orders for the departure of the expedition in the end of March.

Paris, March 2 —They write from Rouen, that Lebourgeois and Pigot, former leaders of the Chouans, accompanied by many others, had returned from England to France, where they kept themselves a month concealed. The Police, apprised of their return, made efforts to discover their motives, and soon found that they were forming new plots against the public safety. They have been arrested, and by their answers a proof has been discovered of the criminal designs which induced them to go back.—The camp, which is to be formed between Brussels and Louvain, at the epoch of the journey of the First Consul into the Belgic departments, will be established in the plain of Cortemberg. The number of troops of which it will be composed, appears to be definitively fixed at 15,000 men, who, as soon as the season permits, will be marched to their destination.

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* Since the above was written, it has been explicitly declared, in the Ministerial Gazette, and in both Houses of Parliament, that ever since the signing of the peace, *Buonaparté has been in a state of* HOSTILITY *to this country*.

DOMESTIC.

In consequence of the arrival of dispatches at Windsor, on Monday morning at 7 o'clock, his Majesty gave immediate directions for preparations to be made for going to London with all possible speed. About one o'clock their Majesties arrived at Buckingham House. At 3 o'clock a Council was held at Buckingham House, which his Majesty attended; and at which were present the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Hobart, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Bragge, &c.

On Tuesday night, press warrants were issued and backed by the Lord Mayor. The press was very hot all that night and Wednesday. About 2000 seamen were picked up on the river and in the streets. They were seized in every part of the town, particularly in the city, in open day. The Admiralty Board has been sitting to a late hour every night since Saturday.—Orders have been dispatched to Chatham to get ready for sea, as quickly as possible, every ship that can be equipped for service. Orders have also been issued for the artificers in his Majesty's Dock Yards to work as much extra time as they possibly can, in completing the repairs of the ships of war now in dock, and of those ordered into dock, when there may be room for them. Orders have been issued at Portsmouth for the Captains of every ship in the harbour to repair to Spithead with all possible dispatch. Similar orders have also been sent to Plymouth. Several naval officers have been sent for to town. The first men impressed have been ordered to be sent to man such ships as are at Deptford and Woolwich, to expedite their getting to the Nore. The Hound sloop of war has come up to Deptford to the Tower, to receive the impressed. The army is to be recruited. To facilitate this object, H. R. H. the Duke of York has intimated to the proper officers, his Majesty's command that the standard for the recruits shall be reduced to 5 feet 5 inches, and that the levy money shall be raised to 6 guineas. Orders have been dispatched to all foreign stations.

On Wednesday another Cabinet Council was held upon the present alarming state of affairs.

PARLIAMENTARY MINUTES.

Wednesday, Feb. 23.—COMMONS.—An account of different sums of money disbursed for the year 1802, was brought up.—Mr. Addington presented at the bar, an account of the money received, and to be received by the commissioners appointed under the Act of the 35th Geo. III. Ordered to be referred to the committee appointed to consider his Majesty's most gracious message.—Mr. Alexander presented a Report of the Mutiny Bill.—The Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Address to his Majesty, which was agreed to by the whole House.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that the order of the day for taking into consideration his Majesty's most gracious Message, (see p. 248) relative to the affairs of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales be now read: upon which a debate ensued; the speakers were Colonel Stanley, Mr. Addington, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Harrison, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox. Mr. Addington concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this "committee, that his Majesty be enabled to grant "yearly any sum or sums of money out of the "Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, not ex- "ceeding in the whole £60,000; being to take "place from the 5th Jan. 1803, and to continue "until the 5th Jan. 1806, towards providing for "the better support and dignity of his Royal "Highness the Prince of Wales."—Motion agreed to. *(A correct report of this debate will be given in the Supplement to Vol.* 3.*)*

Thursday, Feb. 24.—LORDS.—Report of Bank Restriction Bill received and agreed to.—Lord Gwydir acquainted their Lordships, it was his Majesty's pleasure to receive the Address of the House at 2 o'clock this day.—The House accordingly proceeded to St. James's, with their Address. See p. 285.

COMMONS.—Lord Stopford reported to the House, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to receive the Address of the House this day at 3 o'clock.—Report of the Address was then brought up, read, and agreed to.—The House proceeded to St. James's, to present the Address voted by the House to his Majesty.

Saturday, Feb. 25 —LORDS.—Counsel were heard relative to the Scotch Appeal, Finlayson, *v.* Innes and others —Bank Restriction Bill read a third time and passed.—Lord Pelham moved the order of the day, for taking his Majesty's Royal Message into consideration, relative to the affairs of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; which being read, his Lordship rose to move an Address to his Majesty on the occasion; which, as usual, was a general re-echo of the Message.—Address voted *nem. diss.*—Lord Auckland moved for sundry accounts, previous to his discussion of the financial state of the country. A short, but interesting conversation ensued, which will be preserved in our *Supplement to Vol.* 3. The speakers were Lord Auckland, Moira, and Grenville.

COMMONS.—Mr. Addington moved, that the House be called over on Thursday next. Agreed to.—Militia Training Bill read a third time and passed.

Monday, Feb. 28.—LORDS.—The royal assent given, by commission, to the Bank Restriction Bill.—Counsel finally heard relative to the Scotch appeal, Finlayson, *v.* Innes. After which the Lord Chancellor stated the case, and concluded by moving, "That the Decree of the Scotch "court be affirmed by their Lordships, and that "the Appellant do pay £100 costs." Ordered.—Militia Exercise Bill, three Naturalization Bills, and two private bills were presented, and read a first time.

COMMONS.—On a motion by Lord Euston, James Trotter was ordered to be taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for non-attendance as a witness on the Committee appointed to try the merits of the Dumfermlin election.—Lord Euston also moved, "That the deputy clerk of the "crown be ordered to produce the books of the "Dumfermlin district, in order that the name "of John Anderson, and all that relates to him, "be erased from the said books." Ordered.—Mr. Tyrwhitt made the following

Official Communication from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"That the Prince has felt, with the most sin- "cere and affectionate gratitude, the gracious "purpose of his Majesty, in recommending his "present situation to the consideration of Par- "liament. That having seen by the votes of "the House of Commons the manner in which "they have received his Majesty's recommenda- "tion, the Prince deems it incumbent on him "to express his warmest acknowledgment of "their liberality; at the same time the Prince, "though fully convinced of the propriety of re- "suming his state, and greatly regretting any cir-

" cumstance which tends to disappoint the wishes " of his Majesty, or of the House upon that subject, yet feels himself bound explicitly to declare, that there are still claims remaining upon " his honour and his justice, for the discharge of " which he must continue to set apart, in trust, a " large sinking fund, and consequently postpone, " until the period of their liquidation, the resumption of that state and dignity, which, however " essential to his rank and station, he knows " from dear-bought experience, could not, under " his present circumstances, be resumed without " the risk of incurring new difficulties.—The " Prince thinks that he owes it to himself, and to " Parliament, to make this declaration to them, " with the same distinctness as he stated it to his " Majesty's government, upon the first communication made to him of his Majesty's benign intentions.—With respect to the Prince's claim to " an account of the revenues which accrued from " the Duchy of Cornwall from the year 1762 to " 1783, however strong his confidence in the validity of his claim, a confidence fortified by the " strongest legal authorities, yet as he trusts that " through the gracious interposition of his Majesty, and the liberality of Parliament, he shall " be enabled otherwise to provide for those demands on his justice, which alone induced him " to assert his right, he now cheerfully relinquishes his suit, and has directed his law officers to forego all further proceedings."

Mr. Calcraft said, he had not heard any sufficient reason assigned for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales not immediately resuming his state and dignity, and should on Friday bring forward a motion on that subject.—Mr. Erskine said, that such a motion was without the authority of his Royal Highness.—Mr. Sheridan moved, that the Prince's gracious communication be entered on the Journals. Ordered.—Pancras Workhouse Bill read a first and second time. Sir F. Burdett presented a petition against the bill.

Tuesday, March 1.—COMMONS.—The Attorney-General of Ireland moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the forging of bank notes of Ireland.—Report of the Expiring Laws Bill brought up.—Mr. Addington brought up a bill for allowing his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales an annuity of £60,000 a year, during the period of three years, and for repealing so much of an Act as authorised the appointment of commissioners, to expend the sum of £13,000 out of the Duchy of Cornwall, for the discharge of the debts incurred by his Royal Highness.—Bill read a first time.

Wednesday, March 2.—Bill for assimilating the Proceedings in the Law Courts of Ireland to those in the correspondent Courts of Great Britain, read a first time.—In a committee of the House on the Irish Revenue Acts, Mr. Corry moved, "That the duties, commonly called customs, be rendered permanent in Ireland: that the duties on stamps be made permanent: that the revenues of the Post-Office be rendered permanent. Resolutions agreed to.—Leave given to bring in a bill to prevent malicious cutting of cattle, and for punishing chalkers in Ireland: also another for the more effectual prevention of forging bills of exchange and Bank of Ireland bills.—Prince of Wales' Annuity Bill read a second time.—Mutiny Act read a third time and passed.—In a Committee of Supply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "That the sum of £1,032,151 4s. 8d. be granted, for the purpose of defraying the charge of extraordinary expenses of the Army from Dec. 25, 1801, to Dec. 25, 1802, not provided for by Parliament. —Agreed to.

Thursday, March 3.—LORDS.—Militia Training Bill read a second time.

COMMONS.—Mr. Fox presented a petition from the druggists of Westminster, against the Medicine Act.—Report of the Committee of Supply on the Irish Duty Bills brought up and agreed to.—Irish Revenue-Officers Disqualifying Bill read a third time and passed.—Mr. Vansittart moved for accounts of the number of ships entered in and cleared out of the different ports of Great Britain for three years; also an account of the amount of the bounties on flax, hemp, &c.—Ordered.

[*The Parliamentary Minutes will be brought up in our next.*]

From the London Gazette, March 5, 1803.—St. James's, the 2d of March, his Majesty in Council was this day pleased to appoint—J. Johnes, Esq. of Dolecothy, to be Sheriff of the County of Caermarthen, instead of J. Llewellyn of Castle Piggin, Esq.—E. Kendall, of Beaufort, Esq. to be Sheriff of the County of Brecon, instead of S. Gwynne, of Twimawr, Esq.

Whitehall, March 4.—The King has been pleased to grant to George Harrison, Esq. (Norroy King of Arms), the Office of Clarenceux King of Arms, and Principal Herald of the South, East, and West Parts of that Part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England, in the room of Thomas Lock, Esq. late Clarenceux, deceased.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 22.—His Majesty, by his Royal Letters, having appointed the Most Noble George Augustus Marquis of Donegall to be of his Most Hon. Privy Council of Ireland, his Lordship this day in Council took the usual oaths and his place at the Board accordingly.

Crown-Office, March 5.—*Member returned to serve in this present Parliament.—Borough of Yarmouth.*—Chas. Mac Donnell, of the City of Westminster, Esq. in the room of James Patrick Murray, Esq. who hath accepted the Office of Steward of his Majesty's Manor of East Hundred, in the County of Berks.

Whitehall, March 8.—The King has been pleased to appoint the Reverend Peter M'Master to the Church and Parish of New Luce, in the Presbytery of Stranraer, and County of Wigtown.—The King has also been pleased to present the Rev. Andrew Jameson to the Church and Parish of St. Mungo, in the Presbytery of Lochmaben, and County of Dumfries, vacant by the death of the Rev. D. Dickson, late Minister there.

Berlin, Feb. 26.—The Queen of Prussia was safely delivered of a Princess on Wednesday last the 23d inst. Her Majesty and the young Princess continue as well as can be expected.

BANKRUPTS.—Joggatt, W. Bridgewater-square, merchant.—Hord, W. York, merchant.—Green, J. Reading, mealman.—Malone, P. Manchester, shoemaker.—Finigan, J. Bishopsgate, muslin dyer.—Cooper, J. Sen. and Jun. Sevenoaks, coopers.—Leigh, A. Shoe-lane, smith.—Dow, J. Bush-lane, Cannon-street, merchant.—Tench, J. Jun. Token-house-yard, merchant.—Clements, R. New Buckenham, Norfolk, shop-keeper.—Baylis, J. Croome Dabitot, builder.—Whitby, R. Manchester, cotton-spinner.—Shallcross, S. and R. Barnes, Manchester, cotton manufacturers.—Drayton, J. Carshalton, victualler.

Births.—On Tuesday, the 1st, Lady Paget, of a son.—On Friday, the 4th, the Lady of Lord Middleton, of a daughter.

Marriage.—On the 5th inst. at Bath, Lt. Col. A. Colston to Miss Warrington.

Deaths.—On Thursday, the 3d inst. Lt. Gen. D'Oyley, of Half Moon-street.—On Tuesday, the 8th inst. at his house in Cleveland Row, his Grace the Duke of Bridgwater.—At Walworth, Rear-Admiral Hudson.—On Sunday, at his house in Gloucester Place, Vice-Admiral Sir James Wallace.

PRICE OF STOCKS — MARCH.

Day of Month	Bank Stock	3 pr. C.R.An.	3 per C. Con.	4 pr. C. Con.	5 pr.Ct.Ann.	5 per Ct.1797.	Omnium . . .
1	180½	72	71⅛	88⅛	101⅝	101½	3¼ di
2	—	—	71⅛	88⅜	101⅝	104½	3¼
3	190	—	71⅛	88¼	101⅝	104¼	4
4	—	—	71	—	101⅝	104⅛	3½
5	—	—	71⅛	—	101⅝	—	3¾
7	—	—	70¾	—	101⅝	—	4¼
8	—	—	69¾	—	101⅝	—	7½
9	—	—	62	—	96	—	15
10	182	—	63	—	—	—	13½

French 5 per cent. on the 31 inst. 64 f. 60 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c. f.	36 2	2 us.	Leghorn	50¼	
D°, at sight	35 9		Naples.....	40¼	
Rotterdam	36 3	2 us.	Genoa	46⅛	
Hamburgh	34 5	2½us.	Venice, 55 livres piccole		
Altona....	34 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.		
Paris 1 day	24 8		Lisbon	67¾	
Paris.....	24 12	2 us.	Oporto	68¼	
Bourdeaux,	24 13		Dublin	13¾	
Cadiz . . .	35¼	eff.	Bilboa	36	
Madrid . .	36	effective	Agio, bank on Hol. p.		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq	44s. to 58s	Hops per cwt.	110s to 140s
Rye.....	32 .. 34	Hay per load....	83 .. 140
Barley.....	20 .. 25	Beef, per stone	4s.6d. to 6s.
Malt.....	40 .. 44	Mutton	4s. 8d. to 5s 4d.
Oats.....	13 .. 19	Veal	5s. 0d. to 7s. 0d.
Pease (white)....	31 .. 38	Pork....	4s. 8d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	31 .. 35	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack ..	44 .. 47	Av. of Sugar pr cw	39s. 4d.
Seconds.....	40 .. 44	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	50 .. 00	Bread 9d the Quar. Loaf.	

TO THE RT. HON. LORD HAWKESBURY.

"They shall seek *peace*, and there shall "be none. Mischief shall come upon "mischief, and rumour shall be upon "rumour. The law shall perish from "the priest, and the council from the "ancients. The king shall mourn, and "the prince shall be clothed with de-"solation, and the hands of the people "of the land shall be troubled."—Ezekiel, c. vii. v. 25.

My Lord—This was the motto which I prefixed to the volume of letters, addressed to your lordship, in October, 1801, just after the signature of those preliminaries, that led to the disgraceful and ignominious peace of Amiens. The former part of this prediction has now been most amply fulfilled: the deluded people of this country have sought *peace*, and there has been none; mischief has come upon mischief, and rumour has been upon rumour; and, my lord, let those who are concerned be well assured, that, unless you and your colleagues are instantly removed from the councils of the King, and unless a new system of policy be adopted by your successors, the latter part also of this awful prediction will meet with a speedy accomplishment.

I have taken, on this occasion, the form of a letter, my lord, not for the purpose of troubling your troubled mind with any new remarks, but merely as a vehicle for certain extracts, intended to remind you and your colleagues of your errors, and to give my readers another proof of your ignorance and your obstinacy.—The first which I shall take is from my Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace, written in October, 1801.—"Me-"thinks I hear you make a triumphant "comparison between these infant undisci-"plined fleets and those of Great-Britain. "But, my lord, if we were certain (which I "am far from being) that we shall ever be "again able to send fleets to sea, let us not "forget, that our enemies will have nothing "to do *but to cross the narrow channel which* "*separates our shores from theirs.* Naval tac-"tics are not necessary in an enterprize, "the success of which requires but a few "hours of favourable wind. The French "having no enemy to dread on their land-"board, may easily maintain, and *they will* "*maintain, a numerous army along the coast* "*from Brest to the Texel.* This army they "may double at any moment they please, "by those sudden and efficacious means, "which are become familiar to the people; "and, my lord, however you may be dis-"posed to sneer, one and the same southerly "wind may bring four armies on our coasts. "It is not necessary to name the points of "embarkation or disembarkation, the enemy "is perfectly acquainted with the subject. "—Great Britain will, as the least possible "evil, be *obliged to maintain a numerous army,* "*to repel an invasion, and numerous fleets to* "*prevent the invaders from approaching her* "*shores.* We shall never know when an "aggression is about to take place; for the "great and mighty republic will be *always* "*preparing*; and, be well assured, my lord, "that *she will not suffer impertinent neighbours* "*to ask questions.* While our dock-yards "and fleets are in a state of inactivity, we "shall see vessels of all countries sailing to "the ports of France, with all the materials "necessary to establish her navy; and it is "not going too far to say, that she will re-"ceive thirty thousand mariners from this "country, some of whom, as your lordship "may recollect, are not a little infected "with jacobinism. In the mean time Buo-"naparté will *dispatch troops and warlike* "*stores to the West-Indies, the Cape of Good*

" *Hope, and to India.* We shall not, as I " observed before, dare to enquire into the " extent, destination, and object, of these " armaments. We must observe their ope- " rations in silence, and *our first notice of* " *hostility will be a preparation for resistance*; " for France will not suffer *us* to embark a " single regiment, without rendering her a " full and satisfactory account. The mi- " litary and naval establishment for such a " peace cannot be much less expensive than " what would have been necessary for the " continuance of the war, or else it will be " totally insufficient. It will not even be " attended with the advantage of forcing " the enemy to incur a proportionate ex- " pense; for the French government, cer- " tain of having land forces at its command, " whenever it shall have occasion for them, " will always be able to diminish them " with facility; and, consequently, to ap- " propriate to the navy a great part of the " funds, now employed for the support of " the army.—The consequences of *this state* " *of uneasiness, mistrust, expense, and danger* " *on the one part*; *and of threats, intrigues* " *and hostile preparations on the other*, which is " honoured with the name of peace, will " enable the French, suddenly, and with " the greatest advantage, to renew a war, " which will be pregnant with the great- " est danger to England, inasmuch as the " French will have had time to collect their " forces and their means of attack, so as " to bear upon those points which they have " in view; and as they will, moreover, " have it in their power to choose both their " time and their point of attack.—But, " the noisy partisans of *peace, of any peace* " *whatever*, even of *the name of peace*, will " exclaim—*Is England, then, condemned to* " *wage perpetual war with France?* Yes, " my lord, she is, and it is your peace " which has reduced her to this lamentable " necessity. It has suddenly transported to " France a part of our force and of our riches; " and in a few years it will give her a naval " superiority. In all quarters, and with " inconceivable rapidity, it multiplies her " means of attack and diminishes our " means of defence. It leaves our enemy " armed and prepared; it compels us also " to remain under arms. *This peace, then,* " *my lord, is a real state of war.*" *(Letters on the Peace, p. 98).*—These letters, my lord, were first published, during the very height of that " *tumult of exultation and delirium* " *of joy*," which your preliminaries excited; and, I was actually engaged in writing the letter, from which this extract is made, at the very moment when the infamous peace-loving rabble came to demolish my house, because I refused to illuminate it, in approbation of the compact by which you and your colleagues had ruined and dishonoured the country. You laughed, or rather, you grinned, on that occasion; you made my injuries a subject of mockery; backed by the shouts of the base million, you thought yourself secure from the vengeance of reason and of truth. I reminded you then, that the hour of retribution would come, and that " a weak foundation, slippery and un- " sure, had he who built upon the vulgar " heart." This hour, my lord, is now fast approaching; and, if I had a mind as low as that of your lordship, I should prepare for exercising on you a severe retaliation.—But, my lord, objects widely different engage my thoughts. I think of the dangers to which my country is exposed, dangers which can no longer be hidden, and which must be met and overcome by our virtue and valour, or we must be the slaves, the abject, the toiling slaves, of the most cruel and impious tyranny that God, in his just indignation, ever sent as a scourge to a base and degenerate people.

In this situation, my lord, I could have earnestly wished to hear, in the parliament, language more bold and decisive. To Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan " *spirited* and *animating*" speeches have been ascribed, in the public papers. The former spoke like a man worthy of his name and his rank, and to the speech of the latter I have no objection, except that the reporter makes it attribute to Mr. Windham a sentiment which that gentleman never uttered, to wit; that *this country, single-handed, is unable to contend against France.* I rejoice to hear these speeches of Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan applauded in the public papers; I rejoice that they think our country capable of such noble exertions; but, when the tardy expression of these sentiments is brought forward in order to throw an odium on those of the gentlemen, who, from the first moment, reprobated the fatal measure, which has produced our present embarrassment, I must not, and will not be silent. From this consideration it is, that I remind my readers that Lord Moira, in defending the Peace, explicitly declared, that this country, single handed, was *not* able to contend against France. " To negociate," said his lordship, " a peace, with any prospect of success, " ministers must necessarily accommodate " the terms according to the relative situa- " tions of the two countries, and a precise " reciprocity of cession on a pertinacious " contest, for the *uti possidetis*, was out of " the question *where a* WEAKER *power had*

" *to treat with a* STRONGER.*" As to Mr. Sheridan, he also approved of the peace, upon the sole ground of *necessity*, and styled it " *a peace that every man must be* GLAD *of*, " *but that no man could be* PROUD *of*." A peace, " *involving a degradation of the nation-* " *al dignity, which no truly English heart can* " *feel with indifference.* †" Are we then, my lord, become *more strong*, and is France become *more weak* since the time when these declarations were made? Has the respective power of the two nations been brought nearer to an equality by the surrender of St. Pierre and Miquelon, Surinam, Berbice, Essequibo, Tobago, St. Lucie, Martinico, Elba, Minorca, and the Cape of Good Hope, on our side, and by the possession of those places on the side of France? Or has this equality been produced by the reduction of our army and the dismantling of our fleet, while the army of Buonaparté has been augmented, while he has filled his naval arsenals, received an accession of 20,000 French sailors, ten thousand Dutch, and *seven thousand English*, together with a great number of those artisans, which previous to the peace, were employed in our dock yards? Finally, not to grate your lordship's soul with too long and painful an enumeration, has this equality of means and of strength been produced by a separation, on our part, from all our continental allies, by the total distrust and contempt of us upon the continent, and by the acquisition, on the part of France, of a complete predominance in Germany, by her virtual possession of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, and by the actual annexation of Piedmont? — Is this the change, my lord, which has rendered us able to cope, single handed, with France? Is it on this change that the noble earl and the honourable gentleman build their change of opinion? Or do these their new hopes arise from the " husbanding of our resour- " ces," from the vast mass of treasure, which your right sapient colleague has been able to save during these ten months of feverish repose?—Lord Moira censured no one's opinion; I believe, and hope, that he has changed his own, not upon any favourable change in our circumstances, but upon a conviction that he was in an error. This, however, I shall not hastily allow with respect to Mr. Sheridan, who appears to me to have sought a pretext for condemning the opinion of Mr. Windham, because, to have acknowledged that gentleman in the right, to have acknowledged that the peace had placed us *in a worse situation than we were previous to that measure*, would have been to acknowledge that that peace was *not* " a peace of *necessity*," that it was *not* a peace that every man ought " to be *glad* of," though " *involving* " *a degradation of the national dignity*" He had advanced these opinions in order to justify his *reprobation of the war*, and his new set of opinions is intended to justify his *joy at the peace!* CONSISTENCY is a very good thing, but, when purchased at a price like this, it is somewhat too dear.

I was much pleased, my lord, to hear Lord Auckland give it as his opinion, that we were able, single handed, to contend against the monstrously augmented force of our enemy; but, I could have wished, that his lordship's confidence had been built on a foundation more solid than that of mere *pecuniary means*. I noticed, in my letters to Mr. Addington, on the preliminaries of peace, that his lordship had long entertained a high opinion of the virtue of this species of force. " War," says he*, " is now become " *a science of* MONEY. That side must first " quit the field, *whose exchequer first fails.*" One might have hoped, that the result of our two last wars, in both which, with unshaken credit, we quitted the field before a bankrupt enemy, would have cured his lordship of this error. But, men are apt to attach most importance to the science which they best understand; and, as his lordship has some little knowledge in calculation, he is naturally inclined to oppose money, or rather figures, to men and arms. After, however, the total inutility of the noble, and almost incredible exploits, of Sir Francis d'Ivernois, whom the French call *le chevalier d'arithmétique*, we should, I think, be very cautious how we place confidence in the effects of this science.—Your lordship, too, was pleased, to lay great stress on " *credit, capital*, and *confidence*," which words were, by some persons, taken to have a cabalistic meaning, and to possess, when properly applied, the nature and powers of what the vulgar call a spell or charm. But, taking them in their literal sense, it was rather an unfortunate moment for his lordship to make use of them, when the stocks, which form the criterion of the things expressed by these words, had just experienced a tumble, or rather a jump, from 71 to 62 per cent, and when the paper of that excellent loan negociated by your worthy colleague was at a discount of 14 per cent. This was, my lord, rather an unlucky moment to oppose " credit, capital, and confidence" to the five hundred thousand soldiers of

* See Debates on the Treaty, Register, Vol. II. p. 1107.

† Ibid, p. 1096.

* In his letter to Lord Carlisle, published in 1779.

France, in which country, since the peace of Amiens, the funds have been *constantly rising*, while ours have been almost *constantly falling*. This latter is a curious fact, and it is a proof, that *power* will always create *credit*, while credit will *not* always create power. Where the confidence is there will the real solid capital go; and confidence arises much more from the *military* and *political*, than from the pecuniary or mercantile, means of a country, especially in times of commotion or convulsion; because all men know, that, in such times, when there is the greatest degree of physical force, there is the greatest degree of security from violence. While the nations of Europe preserved their political and military balance, confidence, in pecuniary matters, depended upon the state of the finances, upon the character for honesty and punctuality, of each nation respectively; but now, when the existence of governments, when the independence of nations, are daily brought into jeopardy, this confidence depends upon the opinion which men have of the *power*, the military and political power, of the several nations. Till since the peace of Amiens no one doubted of the capability of Great Britain to maintain her independence; but, can this be said now? Can we hope that men, and particularly monied men, will not doubt of it? After all the humiliations, all the insults, all the disgrace and ignominy, to which we have submitted, can we possibly flatter ourselves, that the sons of wealth will not fear, that we shall not long have the power to protect them and their property, against the rapacity and rage of a nation, which has overturned state upon state, and which has sworn our destruction? And, fearing thus, will they not endeavour to have a stake, at least, under the safeguard of this all-commanding and protecting power? Does not the fate, too, of the French, the Dutch, and the Italian loyalists, strongly admonish all other men, not to neglect this salutary precaution? Does it not, in the skeleton form of hunger and with the voice issuing from the lips of death, warn them to shun the miseries attached to loyalty and patriotism? Millions of pounds, my lord, have from these considerations, already been transferred from England to France; and, if our present state of *uncertainty* continues but yet a little longer, there will not be many of our rich men, who will not have deposited, in some shape or other, a part of their capital in that country; and thus, will the very thing that was to supply the place of courage and of honour, be taken from us, precisely beause we have, by our national acts, renounced our pretensions to those ennobling and commanding qualities. Therefore, my lord, we must inevitably lose our pecuniary means, and a national bankruptcy must inevitably ensue, unless we regain the confidence of ourselves and of the world, which can only be done by another war, a *successful war against France*, because such success alone can recover our lost reputation.

As to our *capability* of doing this, that is another question; and, however the time-serving herd may execrate me, I venture to express my thorough persuasion that we *are not capable*, unless we are willing to make such exertions and such sacrifices as this nation never yet made, nor even dreamt of making. Able we were and well able, to have *continued* the war, and to have finished it with glory; but, it does not, for that reason follow, that we are able to *renew* the war, after our enemy has *doubled his strength*, and after we have been *deprived of three-fourths of ours*. It is the peace, the improvident, the disgraceful, the heart-chilling, the courage-killing peace of Amiens, that has wrought this fearful change in the relative situation of the two countries. Where is our fleet, my Lord? The ships are in the several ports; but can they *go to sea?* What is now become of the empty Munchausen-like boast of your modest and disinterested colleague, "that *fifty* "ships of the line could, at any time, be "sent out to sea in the course of *a month*." You must, one would think, have had some notion of your present danger for a fortnight back, at least; and, are there, then, *twenty-five* ships ready to put to sea? Are there *two*, my Lord? And does your Lordship think that the proclamations of his Majesty will bring home the seven thousand British sailors and the hundreds of naval artizans, whom the peace and its *economical* regulations have driven into the service of the enemy?—And, as to the land force? You are a colonel, or something of that sort I believe, in the same corps, which has the advantage of possessing that ingenious and enterprizing knight, Mr. John Hiley Addington; I therefore put it to your Lordship, whether you think, that the militia can possibly be rendered of any use for this twelvemonth to come? In most of the counties they are not yet *ballotted for*; three weeks is allowed, by law, for an appeal against the ballot; men who have served before are not obliged to serve now; so that, in about three months time, the *drilling* will commence, and if the corps are formed and fit to meet an enemy in less than nine months after that, then will I say that miracles have not

ceased.—An addition to the militia *in Ireland* is proposed. Will that measure be soon and easily effected, my Lord? And will Mr. Ogle still say, that "every *loyal* man in that "country *rejoices* at the peace, while every "*rebel* views it with *disapprobation and re-* "*gret?*" * And will your modest and candid colleague still quote this as a proof that Mr. *Windham's sentiments* "*are in union* "*with those of the United Irishmen?*" †—In short, I greatly fear, that, while it is indispensably necessary to send ten thousand men to the West Indies, we have not, on foot, a force nearly sufficient to protect our home dominions, if the enemy should seriously think of an invasion, with all their ports open, and with all the numerous facilities, furnished them by the peace of Amiens; by that peace which Mr. Sheridan was "*glad of*," though it was "degrading to the national dignity;" by that peace which Mr. Fox rejoiced at, "because it was *glorious to France and to the First Consul*;" by that peace on the signing of which Mr. Addington "reflected with *inward satisfaction*;" ‡ by that peace the advising of which Lord St. Vincent considered as the "*pride of his life*;" § by that peace of which your lordship, like another EROSTRATUS, wished "to be known to *posterity* as the author;" ‖ by that peace, and by that peace alone, my lord, it is, that we have been stripped of our character, our consequence and our power, and that we are now exposed to the inroads of a rapacious, an enraged, and a merciless enemy.—I should now, my lord, endeavour to point out the *ultimate consequences*, the calamitous, the dreadful consequences of this peace, unless instantly prevented *by war*; but want of room compels me to defer this painful, though necessary duty, till my next.

In the mean time, my lord, dine, "with what appetite you may," upon that *porcelaine de Sevre*, with which Buonaparté presented you as a pledge of that *friendship* and *peace*, for endeavouring to *interrupt and disturb* which, Mr. Peltier was prosecuted! and let the people reflect, with what pleasure they may, on the blessings of being governed by "*safe* politicians," taken, according to the recommendation of Mr. Wilberforce, from "the *middling classes* of society."—— I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

London, March 11, 1803. WM. COBBETT.

* See debates on the Preliminaries, Register, Vol. II. p. 1190.
† Ibid. p. 1191.
‡ See Debates, Register, Vol. II. p. 1669.
§ Ibid. 1111. ‖ Register, p. 457.

NOTICES.

The remarks, which we had room for under our regular head of *Summary of Politics*, have been made in the form of a letter.—We had something to say relative to the election of the BALLI THOMASSI to the Grand Mastership of Malta, which we intimated to our readers on the 29th of January (see p. 125), long before *the Ministers* were acquainted with it through any other channel.—A fortnight ago also, we intimated (see p. 288), that our information enabled us to say, that the "*safe* politicians" were about "to make *some other sacrifice* to "the preservation of peace." We were, indeed, even then, pretty fully acquainted of the causes which have led to the present bustle, and which we thought, and still think, will finally produce new sacrifices and additional disgrace. —Of the confirmation of all our opinions, respecting the conduct of Mr. Jefferson the American President, we had a convincing proof at hand in the appointment of Mr. Munro to *negotiate* with Spain and France.—The proceedings of the Whig Club, where an assembly of noblemen and gentlemen, sanctioned by the presence of a doctor of divinity, have given a public mark of their applause to the memory of *a man executed for high treason*, would also demand our animadversion.—But, want of room compels us to content ourselves for the present, at least, with merely pointing out these topics to our readers.—French papers, to the 7th instant, have been received. They contain nothing of importance; but from the variation in the price of the funds, it appears, that some knowledge of the dispute with England had got abroad, for the *tiers consolidés*, which, on the 6th were at 66 f. 60 c. fell, on the 7th, to 64 f. 75 c.

*** The 2d Number of the MERCURE ANGLOIS DE COBBETT was published on Wednesday the 2d. —This work is sold by E. Harding, No. 18, Pall Mall, by DULAU and Co. Soho Square, and by Mr. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden. The work of M. DE PUISAYE is sold by the same persons.—MR. COBBETT takes this opportunity to recommend, to his friends, MR. HARDING, who has succeeded him as a Bookseller in Pall Mall, and on whose punctuality the utmust reliance may be placed.—MR. COBBETT's address is, Duke Street, Westminster.

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ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NAVY.

SIR, The report of the dismission of the present Board of Admiralty has gained so much credit, that I had laid my pen aside, in the hope that truth had, at last, pierced through the mist of falsehood, ignorance and weakness which surround almost every action of our present Prime Minister's conduct; and that, at length, even *his* apathy was aroused, at finding himself the tool of the most intriguing and wrong-headed man that ever filled the high office of First Lord of the Admiralty of these realms. But, tired of the false and fulsome panegyrics, which are constantly tacked to this article of intelligence in the Morning Papers, I am induced, once more, to step forward in order to convince my countrymen (if they will be convinced), *that the dismissal of the present Admiralty is the best preliminary step which can be taken to save the British Navy from total destruction.*

In a former letter I pointed out, in general terms, those particulars, from which, if the public mind had been awakened to enquiry, it would have judged of the incapacity of Earl St. Vincent for so responsible a situation, and of the imbecility of the two *Phocæ* he has selected from the list of Post Captains, to receive and register his fiats in the naval department. But, as this has not had its due effect upon the palsied frame of this devoted country, and as the hirelings of the day continue to trumpet forth the praises of the Admiralty, aud the loss we shall probably sustain by a change, let us fairly examine what benefits have accrued to the nation from its present naval administration, and what improvements have been made in the civil and military arrangements, as well as what chance there is of our being able to oppose any naval force to that gigantic power, which is every hour, and in every shape, placing itself in a more hostile and menacing attitude towards this country. As for the gross and impudent assertion of being able to have *fifty* sail of the line ready in a month, our credulous Minister has, by this time, discovered its falsehood; and, although I shall never suspect him of magnanimity enough to avow having been duped, I must suppose it is one of the principal reasons why he wishes to banish from his Majesty's councils, the author of such a statement.

Without digressing, however, any farther, it will be sufficient for me to state the simple facts as they stand; as I am perfectly certain that the bare statement, witout a single comment upon it, or without leading the mind one step by logical deductions, will be sufficient to shew the effects of such wild mismanagement; and those effects will be felt so strongly, that the cause cannot be mistaken for one instant. These facts I shall divide under the following heads:

First, as to the arrangement of the peace establishment of the military part of the Navy.

Secondly, ditto, of the civil departments and of the dock-yards.

Thirdly, as to the general treatment of the officers and seamen, and of the mutinies which have been, and may probably be, the event of that treatment.

Under the first head I can only state, that at the conclusion of every former war, a regular number of the best ships of the line were kept as guard-ships, and a sufficient number of frigates for the suppression of smuggling, and for the various other duties required at home; by which means, a fleet of 20 sail of the line were ready to put to sea at three days notice; and, to such a perfection of discipline were they trained in the last peace, that when ordered to make up a squadron of evolution for a particular occasion, the guard ships were at Spithead and ready for sea in eight hours after they had received their orders from the Admiralty. This sort of peace establishment took its date from the very hour in which the definitive treaty was signed, and its effective force was complete and ready to act, by the time the last ships of the war establishment were paid off. Is there any thing of this sort *at present?* and can *five* ships of the line be sent out? I shall be told, that the conclusion of this war, and the way of making this peace, are not similar to any other in history. With all that humiliation which it is meant that Englishmen should feel; with every sentiment of degradation and abject vassalage, I confess it. But, is that any reason why those ministers who were weak enough to barter away the honour, the interest, the power, and the fair fame of this country, should not take even the common precautions which former occasions had handed down to them, to place this country in a situation, so as not to be absolutely blotted out by the consular pen from the powers of Europe; but to be able to shew those courts, who now so justly hold us in contempt and distrust, that we could, upon a proper occasion, stretch forth our hand, and, perhaps, lend them some little assistance to get out of the labyrinth of ruin, with which they are surrounded? Let us see if we have even ventured to try

the experiment. It is now two years since the arrangements of peace were concluded; even before which period a frantic haste was discovered, to pay off, dismantle and lay up, with uncommon speed, all those ships which could have commanded and enforced the fair fulfilment of the definitive treaty. Not a pendant, however, was left flying in our ports, nor a single precaution used, or encouragement held out for seamen to enter for the peace establishment; the ships which were kept out on foreign stations to watch the ambiguous motions of Buonaparté's released fleet, were not selected by any rule; but it so happened that they consisted of those very ships which any other Admiralty, guided by custom and common sense, would perhaps have paid off the first; and, on the other hand, those of a contrary description were sent home, instantly paid off, and dismantled. That this proceeding might answer the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I have no doubt, as it helped to make up the dazzling picture of that saving which was held out to be the effect of the peace, and which such a reduction would naturally occasion. But, if the naval minister felt himself at all responsible for the consequences, his head or his heart could not be very much at ease, unless the views of the one was directed to other purposes, or that his head was so turned by the unexpected situation he was placed in, that from its giddy height he lost sight of the cautious, prudent politics of Shelburne-House, and only saw the humble friend of Paddy Barré vaulting into the car of Neptune, and brandishing the trident of the world: an elevation too great, indeed, for any common mind to bear, and which nothing but the puddle which fills the cranium of the Right Honourable Hely Addington could endure, without boiling even to madness. And, in charity, let me ascribe it to that cause, for otherwise, such undigested plans, such violent contradictions, such bare-faced attacks upon all order and regularity, so complete an attempt to overthrow all rules and regulations of the service, could never have existed.

The consequence is, that at home we have scarcely a single ship ready to put to sea; and out of a list of one hundred and thirty-four Admirals, not one man of common fame or reputation has yet been prevailed upon to offer his service for any command; such is their opinion of the treatment, and such is their abhorrence of the rude and oppressive conduct of the Admiralty towards the service in general! And it is actually now in contemplation, whether the offers of some persons, whose names ought never to have disgraced that list, shall be accepted, or if the commands shall not be given to Captains, with broad pendants as Commodores; and I have reason to believe that this last measure is preferred, although fraught with false economy and ruin to the service, as Captains Hood and Stopford have received their appointments in the West Indies, and Commodore Domet in the Channel; and, though last not least, is the proof of a 50 gun ship having been ready and fitted for some months, waiting the double event of Lord St. Vincent quitting the Admiralty, or the failure or success of that curious and memorable attempt to drive the present Comptroller of the Navy from his seat. If this last plan had been accomplished, Sir Thomas Trowbridge would have been spared the fatigue of visiting a warmer climate; he would have occupied Somerset-House, and some other favourite would have kissed the First Lord's toe for the East-India station. As it is, it will be a cheap purchase for the nation, to lose its present Admiralty Board, even if Sir Thomas should go to the East-Indies with double pay and the emoluments of Colonel of Marines, in addition to his broad pendant as Commodore.

At our home ports, the same want of officers stares us in the face. At Portsmouth, a gallant veteran is lingering on, in hopes of some officer relieving him from the burthen, which was promised to be taken from his shoulders last September. But, alas! such is the contempt or horror of being employed under the present system, that no officer will accept it, although in point of comfort and honour, one of the best appointments in their gift. The present admiral at this port has every emolument as a commander in chief, with a house to reside in, and every comfort which an officer in that high station ought to enjoy. Mark the reverse. At Plymouth, a junior admiral, kept upon the bare pay of his rank as rear-admiral, without table money, with a house or any other appointments, but subject to every expense of a commander in chief of a port, is obliged to undergo all the fatigue of a commander in chief, to incur all his expenses, in entertaining the officers, &c. who may be in that port, and, consequently, must starve or be ruined! What is the inference from these two appointments so opposite to each other? One *must* be wrong, as, although the duties are exactly similar, the appointments differ as widely as riches and beggary. Or, are we to suppose, which I really believe is the fact, that, as yet, two years having elapsed,

that no arrangement whatever has been thought of, or is likely to take place, because they cannot get any man of character who will trust himself under the dominion of so capricious a sway. Take it, however, in what light you please, it plainly betrays an imbecility, a want of method to arrange business, a savage ignorance, which having once broke through the regular mode of transacting the naval code, has neither ability, energy, or knowledge, sufficient to set the machine a-going in any other way.

Let us now turn our eyes abroad. After what had happened, would it not have been wise, if the seamen could not have been instantly paid and relieved, to have said less about that peace, which was so pompously detailed to them in public orders? It is in vain that the Mediterranean fleet is ordered to be kept in an unfrequented bay in the island of Sardinia, in which they are secluded from the habitable world, for fear they should know what is passing in it. If dire necessity should call them into active service, can the blame attach to any but the admiralty, if their conduct should produce the most dreadful, the most fatal calamities to this country! Even at this moment, we hear of ships on other stations bursting into all the horrors of mutiny, nor can the zeal of their officers, nor the love of the men for those officers, surmount the criminal habit, which, under such circumstances, a wise admiralty would have completely eradicated.* Such is the real state of the case, and when the hour of remorse and retribution comes, what excuse will it be to this country, with its favourite service annihilated, with its boasted bulwarks level with the dust, to have some silky-tongued minister get up and say, "Why, truly, "this looks very aukward, it may be as- "cribed to imbecility, to want of know- "ledge, to treachery, or whatever else "you please, but it is really not so; for we "pledge the whole medical knowledge of "the Addington family, that it arises only "from our worthy colleague having made "a slight mistake in his mansion, and being "set down at the Admiralty, instead of an- "other public building of great celebrity." But, to be serious: can any satisfactory answer be given to the questions which must follow?

First. Have we not been at peace long enough to have paid off all the ships upon the war establishment, and how comes it to pass, that upwards of twenty sail of the line, yet remain abroad, under that description?

Second. If it is necessary to keep such a fleet abroad, why have not ships been commissioned and manned since the peace to relieve them?

Third. Can a single line of battle ship be sent to sea at this moment? And if the common practice of commissioning guard ships had been adopted, would there not have been, at this moment, a sufficient force to have answered every purpose of relief abroad and defence at home?

Fourth. What is the reason, that neither the stations abroad, nor the ports at home, are relieved by flag, or commanding officers?

I am so thoroughly persuaded that no satisfactory answers can be given, that I think the questions themselves are sufficient to prove, how shamefully this nation has been deluded by its present naval administration; for as the present peace establishment now stands, there is scarcely a single guard ship manned or getting ready, and the reluctant manner in which the seamen enter for even their favourite class of ships, the frigates, proves that there exists some deeper rooted reason, than the common dislike to the discipline of men of war. The fact is, the officers are as backward as the men, and the real reason is, the caprice exercised over both. The vainglorious boast, therefore, of being able to send *fifty* sail of the line to sea in a month, sinks into its original bed of hyperbole, when we have seen with our own eyes, that in the space of two years, this admiralty have not been able to send out more than *four* ships of the line. I cannot, however, quit this article, without congratulating the First Lord, upon the dexterity he manifested in the selection of a speaking-trumpet to convey this correct and modest statement to the public ear. The stupendous fabric of Mr. Addington's head was certainly the only proper formed vehicle to bawl out to the million, how egregiously they were deceived; and by this time, I imagine, that ingenious and noble-minded minister has found out, that although he has shut the temple of Janus, there exists some resemblance of the double-faced god, in that cabinet, which he would fain have the world to believe to be the sanctum sanctorum of harmony and peace.

I have now taken up so much of your time with my observations on this first head, that I shall delay my second until next week; and am, Sir, Your's, &c.

London, Feb. 12th. A. R.

* Some curious facts will be related, under the third head, upon this subject.

ON THE CONDUCT OF THE ADMIRALTY-BOARD.

SIR,—An expression, in the Parliamentary Reports some time ago, said to have been used by Captain Markham, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, which has been the subject of much private conversation, ought not to be passed over in silence, viz. "That "the Admiralty-Board never assigned any "reasons for what they did, although the "reasons were known to themselves."—In this, as in many other things, the Captain can only be considered as the instrument of his most illustrious patron; and the expression was used on the occasion when so many officers and men were discharged from the Dock-Yards, who had been brought up in them, and had served his Majesty in various capacities from their youth. That the Admiralty-Board is, in many respects, an arbitrary board, *though never so much so* as since under the controul of the present motley group who compose it, will, I am sure, be readily allowed by all naval men of experience, even by the First Lord's greatest friends; but while it proceeds upon arbitrary principles, I humbly conceive that the greatest care ought to be taken, that such principles and such proceeding are founded upon justice. With regard to the discharge of the Master-Builder from Plymouth yard (whose conduct, as stated in Parliament by Captain Markham, must be extremely reprehensible, if the statement is correct) certainly it would have been but just and equitable to have said to this man, that he had shamefully neglected his duty, and betrayed the important trust reposed in him; and have patiently heard what he could advance in his defence, "*audi alteram partem*," being a fundamental and established principle in British jurisprudence. We find, however, that this was not the case. Is the world then to suppose the very acute and refined sensibility of the noble lord and his worthy colleagues, on this visitation, could not allow them to hurt the tender and delicate feelings of a man represented by them as a base betrayer of the trust reposed in him? "No," say they, "we will hear nothing he has to say, let him be instantly discharged; we will fill up his vacancy with another Master-Builder of our own choosing." This man, then, with a large family unprovided for, is thus discharged; let us now enquire what has been the established practice, in appointing a successor in such cases, and what has been the mode adopted in this. The same [illegible] Every different Dock-Yard [illegible] in point of emolument; therefore the officer, holding a situation in one yard, has a more lucrative employment than the officer holding the same situation in another yard, in a regular gradation. I believe I am correct in taking Plymouth among the first in this point of view. The custom has ever been, when a vacancy happens, from whatever cause, at a superior yard, to remove the proper officer from the next inferior yard to fill this vacancy (suppose, as in this case, the Master-Builder); and then the Master-Builder, from the next inferior yard, is raised to the vacancy occasioned by the last removal; and so on in rotation, till a change takes place of all the Master Builders at the inferior yards. Thus the office of Master-Builder at the yard, most inferior in emolument, becomes vacant, which vacancy has been generally filled by the promotion of the Master-Builder's *first assistant*, from the yard considered superior to all the others, and so on. Has Earl St Vincent followed this plan in filling up the vacancy he has been pleased to make? Certainly not. He has thought proper in the plenitude of power, to appoint a young man, over the heads of all his Majesty's Master-Builders, from a merchant's yard; a young man, who, previous to this appointment, had never served his Majesty a single hour; and a young man, of whom Earl St. Vincent could have no knowledge whatever, except from the report of this man's brother, who had been a purser and the Noble Earl's Private Secretary, and whom he raised, contrary to all former precedent, to be a Commissioner of the Navy, removing a gentleman who had long been in office, to make room for this upstart Commissioner, in the same unusual manner that he turned out the Master-Builder of Plymouth, to make room for this Commissioner's brother, and the same novel principles were, though in vain, exerted, to turn from the Navy-Board two gentlemen, distinguished for every manly virtue, to make room for two of his creatures.

There were many men in inferior situations, discharged from the Dock Yards, without any crime being imputed to them, except old age, and without any previous notice given them, to provide for themselves and families, now reduced to want; some of these men, have, I understand, in a paroxysm of despair, hanged and others drowned themselves, when they found, that turned adrift in this most cruel manner, they were unable to provide for the necessities of those who solely depended upon them. All those who were able have emigrated to France, where they have been very graciously received, and thousands of English

artificers are now employed in the different Dock Yards of that Republic; and thousands of seamen rather than re-enter into the British navy to dance, as they call it, "*Jervis's Jig*," notwithstanding the antipathy, which that class bear the French, are now actually employed in fitting out the French navy. A sum, infinitely less than what his lordship so *modestly* required of the country to satisfy the just demands of the adjudicated Americans, in the West-Indies, would have been sufficient to pay those persons discharged for no crime, a quarter's wages, and would have been much better bestowed, as it would, while it lasted, have given them an opportunity of looking for other employment or supported them till their country, on which from their services they have just claims, could have made provision for them. "Oh! says Captain M. a plan is "*now* in great forwardness for the relief of "those men, and will be got ready as soon "as the pressure of other business will admit." Let me ask what is to become of these people in the mean time, who had no other subsistence, but their daily labour? The little wages they had to receive at the time of their discharge was, probably, all spent at the time they received it, and they have wives and children looking up to them for support. Turned off, in the ungracious manner they were, from a service in which they had spent their whole life, and expected to end their days, none would suppose that any thing was intended to be done for them, nor could they suppose so themselves; their only alternative was to starve or emigrate, to the incalculable loss of their country. *Observer.*

General Napper Tandy to Mr. Elliot, Member of the English Parliament.

Sir,—On the 12th of December last I wrote to you by the medium of the Post-Office. Having had no answer, I have resolved to address you through the channel of the Argus. Though not the favourite newspaper in England, it is, however, a paper publickly read there. I shall begin with copying the letter which I have already sent you.—Sir, your attack upon me, in your speech in the House of Commons, on the 2 th of November last, obliges me thus to address you. My ignorance and insignificance, which you paint in colours so dark, ought to be my protection against abuse from any man of good sense. But you have shewn yourself as destitute of good sense, as you are a stranger to politeness and good manners —You cannot but know, you who pretend to so much intelligence and information, that I hold a rank in the army of this great and generous nation, which sets me on an equality with the proudest Peer in Great Britain. You know that a soldier's honour is dearer to him than life. Yet with a knowledge of these facts, you presumed to tarnish my character, you have attempted to fix stains of infamy on my name which must be washed away in either your blood or mine.—A French officer is not to be insulted with impunity. You, the country which gave me birth, the country in whose bosom I have been adopted, cannot but expect that I am not to betray the honour of the rank to which I have been exalted. I therefore request you to name any City on the Continent, in which you may be willing, in company with some of your friends, to give me a meeting. I shall expect you to allow me time to reach the place which you may chuse for your rencounter.

NAPPER TANDY.

Bourdeaux, Dec. 12, 1802.

COPY OF THE INFORMATION AGAINST MR. PELTIER.

In the King's Bench.

Middlesex.—The King, upon the Information of the Attorney-General, against Jean Peltier.—Michaelmas Term, 43d George III.

INFORMATION,—STATES—That before, and at the times of the printing and publication of the scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels, and libellous matters and things, after mentioned, there subsisted, and now subsists, friendship and peace between our Sovereign Lord the King and the French Republic, and the subjects of our said Lord the King and the citizens of the said Republic; and that before and at those times, citizen Napoleon Buonaparté was, and yet is, First Consul of the said French Republic, and, as such, the chief magistrate of the same: to wit, at the parish of Saint Anne, within the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex.—That Jean Peltier, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, well knowing the premises aforesaid, but being a malicious and ill-disposed person, and unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending to traduce, defame, and vilify the said Napoleon Buonaparté, and to bring him into great hatred and contempt, as well among the liege subjects of our said Lord the King, as among the citizens of the said Republic; and to excite and provoke the citizens of the said Republic, by force of arms, to deprive the said Napoleon Buonaparté of his consular office and magistracy in said Republic, and to kill and destroy said Napoleon Buonaparté; and also unlawfully and maliciously devising, as much as in him, the said Jean Peltier, lay, to interrupt, disturb, and destroy the friendship and peace subsisting between our said Lord the King and his subjects, and the said Napoleon Buonaparté, the French Republic, and the citizens of the same Republic; and to excite animosity, jealousy, and hatred in said Napoleon Buonaparté, against our said Lord the King, and his subjects, on the 16th of August, in the forty-second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith; at the parish of Saint Anne, within the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a most scandalous and malicious libel, in the French language, of and concerning the said Napoleon Buonaparté; that is to say, one part thereof, to the tenor following, to wit:—

Le 18 *Brumaire, an* 8.—*Ode, attribuée à Chénier.*

"Quelles tempêtes effroyables
"Grondent sur les flots déchaînés?

" Dieux ! quels torrents épouvantables
" Roulent ces rocs déracinés ?
" Les fleuves n'ont plus de rivages ;
" Couvert d'écume et de naufrages,
" L'océan mugit dans les airs ;
" Sur ses fondements ébranlée,
" La terre va-t-elle, écroulée,
" Se détacher de l'univers ?
" Ah ! plutôt pour se faire absoudre
" D'une trop longue impunité,
" Les cieux peut-être avec la foudre,
" Vont protéger la Liberté.
" Dieux du peuple que l'on opprime,
" Vengez cette auguste victime
" De l'audacieux attentat,
" Qu'aux jours malheureux de Brumaire,
" Les lois ont, dans leur sanctuaire,
" Vu consommer par un soldat.
" Trop vain espoir de la vengeance !
" Peuples, livrés aux oppresseurs,
" N'auriez-vous, dans votre souffrance,
" Que vos bras pour libérateurs ?
" Le ciel est aveugle ou barbare,
" Et lorsque sa foudre s'égare,
" Portée au hasard sur les vents,
" Qu'elle dévaste les campagnes,
" Ou frappe d'arides montagnes,
" Elle respecte les tirans.
" Jouets des flots et des orages,
" Voyez ces utiles vaisseaux
" De leurs débris couvrir vos plages,
" Ou s'abymer au fond des eaux :
" Tandis que la nef criminelle
" Qui porte ce Corse rebelle,
" Déserteur des champs Africains,
" Tranquillement vogue sur l'onde,
" Et de César annonce au monde,
" Et la fortune et les desseins.
" De la France, ô honte éternelle !
" César, au bord du Rubicon,
" A contre lui, dans sa querelle,
" Le Sénat, Pompée et Caton ;
" Et, dans les plaines de Pharsale,
" Si la fortune est inégale,
" S'il te faut céder aux destins ;
" Rome, dans ce revers funeste,
" Pour te venger, au moins il reste
" Un poignard aux derniers Romains.
" Mais sous quelles viles entraves
" A succombé notre vertu !
" Quoi ! l'univers nous voit esclaves
" Sans que nous ayons combattu !
" Au sein d'un sénat parricide,
" La noire trahison préside,
" Fiere encore de nos revers ;
" Le pouvoir sans appui, sans force,
" Tombe à sa voix, et c'est d'un Corse
" Que le Français reçoit des fers !"

And in another part thereof to the tenor following, that is to say :

" Déjà, dans sa rage insolente,
" Le despote ose menacer. . . . .
" Tel des flots la vague écumante
" Se brise contre le rocher.
" Est-ce pour vous donner un maître,
" Est-ce pour couronner un traître,
" Que la France a puni ses Rois ?
" Non, non ; l'ambition coupable
" Saura qu'il n'est d'inviolable
" Que les droits du peuple et ses lois."

And in another part thereof to the tenor following, that is to say :

" *Vœu d'un bon Patriote au* 14 *Juillet*, 1802.
" Quelle fortune a fait le fils de Létitie !
" Corse, il devient Français ! Sa nouvelle patrie
" L'adopte, le nourrit au rang de ses enfants,
" Et déjà lui promet les destins les plus grands !
" Un orage survient ; sous l'effort des tempêtes
" L'état est renversé ; les plus augustes têtes
" Tombent, tout est brisé : le Français malheureux
" Regrette, en soupirant, son erreur et ses vœux !
" Napoléon paraît ! de victoire en victoire
" Il atteint *en volant* au faîte de la gloire !
" L'Orient, l'Occident, témoins de ses exploits,
" Par lui sont terrassés et reçoivent ses loix !
" Le Nil avait frémi ; mais le sort qui l'entraîne
" Rappelle son vainqueur aux rives de la Seine.
" Cinq chefs, ou cinq tyrans partageaient le pou-
" voir,
" Il arrache à leurs mains le sceptre et l'encensoir.
" Le voilà donc assis où s'élevait le trône !
" Que faut-il à ses vœux ? un sceptre ? une cou-
" ronne ?
" Consul, il regle tout, il fait, défait des rois,
" Peu soigneux d'être aimé, la terreur fait ses droits !
" Sur un peuple avili, jusqu'au rang des esclaves,
" Il regne, il est despote, on baise ses entraves,
" Qu'a-t-il à redouter ? Il a dicté la paix,
" Des rois sont à ses pieds, mendiants ses bienfaits !
" D'assurer en ses mains l'autorité suprême
" On lui porte les vœux ! Les Français, des rois
" même
" A le féliciter s'empressent humblement,
" Et voudraient en sujets lui prêter le serment ! . . .
" Il est proclamé chef et consul pour la vie ! . . .
" Pour moi, loin qu'à son sort je porte quel-
" qu'envie,
" Qu'il nomme, j'y consens, son digne *successeur*,
" Sur le pavois porté, qu'on l'élise *empereur !*
" Enfin, et Romulus nous rappelle la chose,
" Je fais vœu. . . dès demain qu'il ait l'apothéose !
" AMEN."

Which said scandalous and malicious words, in the French language, first above-mentioned and set forth, being translated into the English language, were and are of the same signification and meaning as these English words following, that is to say :—" What frightful tempests growl on the unchained waves ? Gods ! what dreadful torrents roll these uprooted rocks ? The rivers have no longer any banks ; the ocean, covered with foam and shipwrecks, bellows in the air ; shaken at its foundation, is the earth fallen, going to detach itself from the universe. Ah ! rather to obtain their acquittal for too long impunity, the heavens, perhaps, are going to protect liberty with the thunder. Gods of an oppressed people ! Avenge this august victim of the audacious attempt, which, on the unhappy days of Brumaire, the laws, in their sanctuary, saw compleated by a soldier ! (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) Too vain hope of vengeance ! Nations given up to oppressors, have you, in your sufferings, only your arms for deliverers ? The heaven is blind or cruel, and when its thunder flies, carried by chance upon the winds, whether it lays waste the plains or strike the arid mountains, it respects tyrants. Behold those useful vessels, the sport of the waves and storms, cover your coasts with their wrecks, or sink to the bottom of the waters ; while the guilty ship that carries that rebel Corsican, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté), deserter of the plains of Africa, sails tranquilly on the wave, and announces to the world the fortune and the designs of Cæsar. Oh ! eternal disgrace of France ! Cæsar, on the bank of the Rubicon, has against him, in his quarrel, the senate, Pompey and Cato ; and, in the plains of Pharsalia, if fortune is unequal—if you must yield to the destinies, Rome, in this sad reverse,

at least, there remains to avenge you a poignard among the last Romans. But under what vile fetters has our valour fallen! What! the universe beholds us slaves, without our having combatted! In the bosom of a parricide senate, black treason presides, still fierce at our misfortunes; power, without support and without force, falls at its voice, and it is from a Corsican (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) that the Frenchman receives his chains."—And which said scandalous and malicious words, in the French language, secondly above-mentioned and set forth, being translated into the English language, were and are of the same signification and meaning as these English words following, that is to say:—"Already, in his insolent rage, the despot (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) dares to menace; but the foaming wave of the sea breaks itself against the rock. Is it to give you a master—is it to crown a traitor, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) that France has punished her kings? No, no, guilty ambition shall know, that there is nothing inviolable but the rights of the people and their laws."—And which said scandalous and malicious matters, in the French language, last above-mentioned and set forth, being translated into English, are as follows, that is to say:—

"*Wish of a good Patriot, on the fourteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two.*"

"What fortune has the son of Lætitia (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) arrived at! A Corsican, he becomes a Frenchman; his new country adopts him, nourishes him in the rank of its children, and already promises him the greatest destinies. A storm arises. By the force of the tempests the state is overturned; the most noble persons fall; every thing is broken. The unhappy Frenchman regrets, with sighs, his error and his wishes! Napoleon appears; flying from victory to victory, he reaches the summit of glory; the east, the west, witnesses of his exploits, are vanquished by him, and receive his laws. The Nile had shuddered, but the lot that forces him on recalls its vanquisher to the banks of the Seine. Five chiefs, or five tyrants, shared the power. He forces from their hands the sceptre and the censer. Behold him, then, seated where the throne was raised! What is wanting to his wishes? A sceptre, a crown? Consul, he governs all; he makes and unmakes kings. Little careful to be beloved, terror establishes his rights over a people degraded even to the rank of slaves: he reigns; he is despotic; they kiss their chains. What has he to dread? He has dictated peace: Kings are at his feet begging his favours. He is desired to secure the supreme authority in his hands! The French, nay kings themselves, hasten to congratulate him, and would take the oath to him, like subjects. He is proclaimed chief and consul for life. As for me, far from envying his lot, let him name, I consent to it, his worthy successor. Carried on the shield, let him be elected emperor! Finally, (and Romulus recalls the thing to mind), I wish that on the morrow he may have his apotheosis. Amen."—To the great scandal, disgrace, and danger of the said Napoleon Buonaparté; to the great danger of creating discord between our said Lord the King, and his subjects, and the said Napoleon Buonaparté, the French Republic, and the citizens of the said Republic; in contempt of our said Lord the King and his law; to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

Second Count.—That said Jean Peltier, so being such person as aforesaid, and unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the 26th of August, in the forty-second year of the reign aforesaid, at the parish of Saint Anne, within the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein, among other things, divers other scandalous and malicious matters, in the French language, of and concerning said Napoleon Buonaparté, in the form of an address to the French people, according to the tenor following, that is to say:—

"Citoyens, la douceur de caractere et la probité qui vous distinguent entre toutes les nations, me causent une inquiétude extrême au moment où je viens vous entretenir de la tyrannie de notre dictateur.—J'appréhende de ne pouvoir parvenir à vous faire croire qu'il y ait des hommes capables d'actions que vous jugez criminelles:—D'autant que celui que je vous dénonce a fondé tout son espoir sur le crime et la perfidie;—Et qu'il ne se croit en sûreté, qu'en se mettant par sa malice tellement au-dessus de vos craintes, que l'excès de la misere dans laquelle il retient ses esclaves, leur ôte jusqu'à l'idée de recouvrer leur liberté.—J'appréhende encore que vous ne croyiez qu'il vaut mieux pour vous de vivre au milieu de ces périls, en agissant avec prudence, que d'obéir au sentiment qui vous prescrit de vous venger.—En effet, les satellites de ce monstre, les agens de sa tyrannie, sont ou des hommes qui s'étaient fait autrefois un beau nom, ou ceux dont les ancêtres leur ont laissé de nobles exemples à suivre; les Liancourt, les Choiseul-Praslin, les Dormesson, les Duroc d'Adhémar, les Lameth, les Noailles, les Ségur, les Deluynes, les Mouniers, les Fleurieu, les Portalis, les Barthelemy, etc. Ces hommes, chose étonnante! ont fait le sacrifice de leur propre liberté pour vous asservir: ils aiment mieux nuire à leurs concitoyens que de réclamer leurs droits les plus sacrés et agir en hommes libres.—Ainsi ces belles races des Rohan, des Montmorency, des Larochefoucault, des Daguesseau, des Duras, des La Vauguyon, des Boisgelin, offrent aujourd'hui des rejettons que l'on dirait être nés pour la subversion du gouvernement établi et défendu par leurs ayeux, et des titres que leur vertu leur avait acquis.—Et pourquoi avons-nous combattu contre la Prusse, l'Autriche, l'Italie, l'Angleterre, toute l'Allemagne et la Russie, si ce n'est pour conserver notre liberté et nos propriétés; et afin de n'obéir à personne, mais seulement aux lois?—Eh bien, ce tigre qui ose se dire le fondateur ou le régénérateur de la la France, jouit du fruit de vos travaux, comme d'une dépouille enlevée aux ennemis. Il n'est pas rassasié de la destruction du Roi, ni de tant de braves, ni de tant de princes que la guerre a moisonnés; il devient et plus avide et plus cruel dans des circonstances où la prospérité change chez la plupart des hommes la fureur en pitié.—Cet homme, seul maître au milieu de ceux qui l'entourent, a décrété des listes de proscription, et fait exécuter des déportations sans jugement, au moyen desquelles il existe des supplices pour des Français qui n'ont pas encore vu le jour. Des familles proscrites, au-dehors de la France, donnent le jour à des enfans opprimés avant de naître: leur misere a commencé avant la vie.—Sa méchanceté s'accroît chaque jour; chaque jour, malgré la sécurité dont il jouit, il entre dans de nouvelles fureurs; et vous, loin d'oser réclamer votre liberté, la crainte d'aggraver votre esclavage vous glace; et vous êtes soumis à la plus profonde terreur.—Il faut agir, citoyens, il faut marcher, il faut s'opposer à ce

qui se passe, si vous voulez qu'il ne s'empare pas de toutes vos dépouilles: surtout point de délais, point de vœux inutiles, ne comptez que sur vous; à moins que vous n'ayèz la stupidité de croire qu'il se mettra en danger de gaîté de cœur, en abdiquant par ennui ou par honte de la tyrannie, ce qu'il possede à force de crimes.—Mais il s'est avancé au point qu'il ne regarde plus à la gloire, mais à sa propre sécurité, et qu'il n'estime honorable que ce qui lui sert à conserver sa puissance. C'est ainsi qu'il a organisé récemment une compagnie dite de Mamelouks, composée de Grecs, de Maltais, d'Arabes et de Cophtes; ramas de bandits étrangers, dont le nom et l'uniforme rappelant l'expédition insensée et désastreuse d'Egypte, servent à le couvrir de honte: mais qui ne parlant point notre langue, et n'ayant aucun point de contact avec l'armée, seront toujours les satellites du tyran, ses muets, ses sicaires et ses bourreaux.—Cette tranquillité, et ce loisir embelli par la liberté, que plusieurs gens de bien préféraient à une résistance honorable, n'existent donc point.—Français, c'est en ce moment qu'il faut se résoudre à servir, ou à commander: à recevoir la terreur, ou à l'inspirer.—Ne sommes-nous pas réduits à l'extrémité? Quelles institutions humaines peuvent arrêter le tyran? et les institutions divines ne sont-elles pas toutes corrompues? Le peuple Français qui était naguere l'arbitre des nations, aujourd'hui dépouillé de sa souveraineté, de sa gloire, de ses droits, incapable de remuer, objet du mépris universel, ne jouit pas même de la condition des esclaves, et n'a pas comme eux ses alimens assurés.—Un seul homme a anéanti par un simple arrêté cette belle fédération de gardes nationales, qui avait rendu de si nombreux et de si grands services à la patrie, et qui était toute formée de citoyens Français. Quelques satellites et agens favoris, tels que Sieyès et certains généraux, ont reçu, pour prix de leurs forfaits, le patrimoine dont l'innocent a été dépouillé.—Les lois, la justice, les finances, l'administration, les souverains de l'Europe, enfin la liberté et la vie des citoyens, tout est au pouvoir d'un seul homme. Vous voyez à chaque moment des arrestations arbitraires, des juges punis pour avoir acquitté des citoyens, des individus mis à mort après avoir été déjà acquittés par un jugement légal, et des condamnations à mort arrachées aux juges par la menace.—Reste-t-il à des hommes qui veulent être dignes de ce nom, autre chose à faire qu'à venger leur injure, ou à périr avec gloire? La nature a marqué le terme de notre vie à tous, même aux plus puissants? Nul ne doit attendre la derniere extrémité, sans avoir tenté quelque chose pour la liberté, s'il ne veut passer pour une femmelette timide et pusillanime.—Mais je suis un factieux, dit Buonaparté; je regrette les richesses que j'amassais dans les temps de troubles; on dit que je désire la guerre, parce que je réclame les droits dont nous devons jouir en temps de paix.—C'est-à-dire que vous ne pouvez vivre, ni être en sûreté sous son gouvernement, qu'en applaudissant aux prodigalités de Lucien et aux sophismes du scribe Rœderer: en approuvant la proscription des innocens, les emprisonnemens et les déportations des meilleurs citoyens, et la répartition des biens nationaux aux cohortes d'honneur, comme si c'était un butin conquis sur les Allemands.—Mais le tyran m'objecte que j'ai acheté des biens de proscrits; et c'est là justement le plus grand de ses crimes, que ni moi, ni quelque citoyen que ce soit, n'ayons jamais pu nous croire en sûreté qu'en faisant le mal.—Eh bien! ces terres que la terreur m'a fait acheter, et dont j'ai payé le prix, je les restitue à ceux à qui elles appartiennent légitimement. Je ne puis souffrir qu'il soit dit que des citoyens aient fourni une proie à d'autres citoyens.—Nous avons bien assez de ce que nous avons souffert dans nos fureurs, lorsque les Français se battaient entr'eux, à Lyon, dans la Vendée et dans la Bretagne, et que l'on tirait nos légions des frontieres pour les faire marcher contre nous. Qu'il soit mis un terme aux crimes et aux injures.—Ces malheurs font si peu d'impression sur Buonaparté, qu'il se fait encore des titres de gloire des massacres de Toulon, et de la journée du 13 Vendémiaire, et que, s'il était contrarié, il ferait encore pis, s'il le pouvait.—Je ne suis pas inquiet de l'opinion que vous avez de lui. Je sais qu'il est généralement détesté. Mais je crains votre plus ou moins d'énergie. Je redoute que n'étant point d'accord sur le chef que vous voudrez après lui, vous ne vous laissiez surprendre, non par ses promesses et ses dons qui ne sont rien, et que vous méprisez, mais par votre apathie; et qu'alors cet homme qui se repose toujours sur sa fortune, ne paraisse réussir sans cesse dans tout ce qu'il entrepend.—Car à l'exception de quelques satellites affidés qui ont partagé la honte de sa fuite d'Egypte, qui est-ce qui veut la même chose? quel est au contraire l'homme qui ne désire un changement total, excepté dans l'étendue de nos frontieres, fruit de nos victoires? Je parle ici de l'armée, dont le sang a été répandu pour enrichir un Berthier, un Murat, un Lucien, un Joseph, un Junot, un Duroc, un Lannes, un Bourienne, ou bien pour faire avoir un archevêché au prélat Boisgelin, vieille salope, qui a toujours déshonoré les honneurs qu'on lui a conférés.—C'est pourquoi j'ai la plus grande confiance dans nos armées toujours victorieuses, qui, après tant de fatigues, et pour prix de tant de blessures, ont fini par ne rien trouver qu'un tyran.—Il est vrai qu'on les a fait marcher à St.-Cloud pour renverser de vive force le système de représentation nationale établi par la Convention. Elles croyaient alors tout attirer à elles, et recevoir enfin le milliard qui leur a si souvent été promis: mais aujourd'hui, qu'elles sont reléguées dans de tristes et insipides garnisons au fond des bois et des marais; aujourd'hui qu'on les envoie périr comme des mouches à Cayenne, à la Guadeloupe, et à St. Domingue, et qu'elles ne voient qu'un petit nombre de favoris accaparer toutes les récompenses, elles brûlent de jalousie et du désir de venger leur injure.—Et pourquoi marche-t-il en public avec autant de gardes à sa suite et avec tant d'orgueil? C'est que souvent la fortune seconde admirablement les grands criminels: mais que son bonheur chancele un instant, autant il était redouté la veille, autant il sera méprisé le lendemain, à moins qu'on ne soit la dupe des noms de concorde et de paix qu'il a donnés à son crime et au parricide qu'il a commis sur sa patrie.—Il a grand soin de dire que la tranquillité n'aura jamais lieu en France, à moins que les proscrits ne restent dépouillés de leurs propriétés; que les acquéreurs de domaines nationaux ne jouissent en sûreté de leur horrible proie; que la justice ne soit à sa disposition, et qu'il ne possede seul tous les droits qui jadis étaient l'apanage du peuple souverain.—Si vous voulez jouir de la paix et de la concorde, approuvez toutes les révolutions et tous les meurtres qui ont eu lieu dans la République: sanctionnez les lois qui vous ont été imposées; recevez la tranquillité avec l'esclavage, et faites voir par votre exemple à la postérité qu'on peut se rendre maître du peuple Romain, en lui faisant répandre son propre sang.—Pour moi, si j'ai jamais cherché à être quelque chose, c'était pour défendre la liberté et la dignité du peuple, et les droits sacrés que nous ont laissés nos peres; je n'ai jamais cherché à faire une fortune honteuse, et j'ai préféré les orages d'une liberté difficile à obtenir, à la tranquillité mortelle de l'esclavage.—Si vous êtes de mon avis, Français, présentez-vous, et après avoir invoqué l'assistance des Dieux, nommez Camille votre consul et votre chef dans l'entreprise hardie du recouvrement de votre liberté."

Which said scandalous and malicious words, in

the French language, last before mentioned and set forth, being translated into the English language, were and are of the same signification and meaning as these English words following, that is to say:—"Citizens, the mildness of character, and probity, that distinguish you among all nations, occasion me the greatest uneasiness at the moment when I come to address you on the tyranny of our Dictator, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté). I am fearful that I shall not be able to convince you that there are men capable of actions which you think criminal, because the person (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) whom I denounce to you, has founded all his hope on guilt and perfidy, and does not think himself safe, but by placing himself, through his malice, so much above your fears, that the excess of misery in which he keeps his slaves, may take from them even the idea of recovering their liberty. I am fearful, also, that you may think it better to live in the midst of these dangers, by conducting yourselves with prudence, than to obey the sentiment that directs you to avenge yourselves. In reality, satellites of this monster, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté), the agents of his tyranny, are either men who had, heretofore, gained themselves a good reputation, or those whose ancestors have left them noble examples to follow: the Liancourts, the Choiseul-Praslins, the Dormessons, the Durocs D'Adhemar, the Lameths, the Noailles, the Segurs, the Deluynes, the Mouniers, the Fleurieus, the Portalis's, the Barthelemys, &c. These men, astonishing circumstance! have made a sacrifice of their own liberty to enslave you: they chuse rather to hurt their fellow citizens, than to reclaim their most sacred rights, and act like freemen. So the illustrious families of the Rohans, of the Montmorencys, of the Larochefoucaults, of the Daguesseaus, of the Duras, of the Vauguyons, of the Boisgelins, present, at this day, descendants who may be said to be born for the subversion of the government established and defended by their ancestors, and of the titles which their virtue had gained them. And wherefore have we fought against Prussia, Austria, Italy, England, the whole of Germany and Russia, if it be not to preserve our liberty and our properties; and to the end that we might obey no one but the laws alone. And now this tiger, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) who dares to call himself the founder, or the regenerator of France, enjoys the fruit of your labours, as of spoil taken from the enemy. He is not satisfied with the destruction of the King, nor of so many brave men, nor of so many Princes, whom the war has mown down: he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) becomes more covetous and more cruel, in circumstances under which prosperity changes fury into pity among the greater part of mankind. This man, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) sole master in the midst of those who surround him, has ordained lists of proscriptions, and put in execution banishments, without sentence; by means of which there exist punishments for French who have not yet seen the light. Proscribed families give birth, out of France, to children oppressed before they are born; their misery has commenced before their life. His wickedness, (meaning the wickedness of the said Napoleon Buonaparté) increases every day: in spite of the security he enjoys, he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) enters into new passions; and as to you, far from daring to reclaim your liberty, the fear of aggravating your slavery freezes you, and you are subjected to the deepest terror. You must act, citizens, you must march, you must oppose what is passing, if you wish that he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) should not seize upon all that you have. Above all, no delay, no useless wishes, reckon only upon yourselves: unless, indeed, you have the stupidity to suppose that he will wantonly expose himself to danger, by abdicating, by weariness, or shame of tyranny, that which he holds by force of crimes. But he is advanced to the point that he looks no more towards glory, but to his own security; and that he esteems nothing honourable but what conduces to the preservation of his power. It is thus that he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) has organized a company of Mamelouks, as they are called, composed of Greeks, Maltese, Arabians, and Copts; a collection of foreign banditti, whose name and dress recalling the mad and disastrous Egyptian expedition, serve to cover him with shame; but who not speaking our language, nor having any point of contact with the army, will always be the satellites of the tyrant, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) his mutes, his cutthroats, and his hangmen. That tranquillity, then, and that leisure adorned with liberty, which many good men prefer to an honourable existence, exist not Frenchmen, it is at this moment that you must resolve to serve or to command; to receive terror, or to inspire it. Are we not reduced to extremity? What human institutions can stop the tyrant? (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté). And are not all the divine institutions corrupted? The French people, that was lately the arbiter of nations, at this day despoiled of its sovereignty, of its glory, and its rights; incapable of rousing itself, the object of universal contempt, enjoys not even the condition of slaves, and is not, like them, assured of its victuals. A single man (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) has annihilated, by one decree, that noble federation of national guards, that had rendered so many and such great services to its country, and was entirely formed of French citizens. Some satellites and favored agents, such as Sieyes, and certain generals, have received for the price of their crimes, the patrimony of which the innocent has been despoiled. The laws, justice, the finances, the administration, the Sovereigns of Europe; in fine, the liberty and the life of the citizens, are all in the power of one man (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté). You see at every moment arbitrary arrests, judges punished for having acquitted citizens, individuals put to death, after having been already acquitted by a lawful sentence, and sentences of death extorted from judges by threats. Remains there for men who would deserve that name any thing else to do, but to avenge their wrongs or to perish with glory? Nature has set the bounds of life to all, even the most powerful. No one ought to wait the last extremity, without having attempted something for liberty, if he would not pass for a timid and pusillanimous woman. But Buonaparté says, I am factious, I regret the wealth that I amassed in the time of the troubles. It is said, that I desire war, because I reclaim the rights that we ought to enjoy in time of peace. That is to say, that you cannot live, nor be in safety under his (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté's) government, but by applauding the prodigalities of Lucien, and the sophisms of the scribe Rœderer; by approving the proscription of the innocent, the imprisonment and banishment of the best citizens, and the division of the national property among cohorts of honour, as if it were plunder taken from

the Germans. But the tyrant (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) objects to me, because I have bought the property of the proscribed; and that is precisely the greatest of his crimes; that neither I, nor any other citizen, have ever been able to think ourselves in safety, but by doing wrong. And, well! these lands, that fear has made me buy, and of which I have paid the price, I restore them to those to whom they lawfully belong. I cannot bear to have it said, that citizens have furnished a prey to citizens. We have full enough of what we have suffered in our madness, when the French fought against each other, at Lyons, in La Vendée, and in Brittany, and when our legions were drawn from the frontiers to be marched against ourselves. Let an end be put to crimes and injuries. These evils make so little impression upon Buonaparté, that he makes himself titles of honour from the massacres of Toulon, and the day of the thirteenth Vendémiaire, and that, if opposed, he would do still worse if he could. I am not uneasy with regard to the opinion that you have of him (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté). I know that he is generally detested; but I am fearful as to the degree of your energy. I am afraid, that not being agreed upon the chief whom you would chuse after him, you may suffer yourselves to be misled, not by his promises and his gifts, which are nothing, and which you despise, but by your own apathy; and that this man, who always relies upon his fortune, may appear to succeed incessantly in every thing that he undertakes. For, with the exception of some confidential satellites, that have shared the disgrace of his flight, who is there that desires the same thing? Who, on the contrary, is the man, that does not wish for a total change? except in the extent of our frontiers, the fruit of our victories. I speak here of the army, whose blood has been shed to enrich a Berthier, a Murat, a Lucien, a Joseph, a Junot, a Duroc, a Lannes, a Bourienne; or to procure an archbishoprick for the prelate Boisgelin, a filthy old woman, who has always disgraced the honours that have been conferred upon him. For this reason, I have the greatest confidence in our armies, always victorious, who, after so many fatigues, and for the price of so many wounds, have ended by finding nothing but a tyrant (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté). It is true, they were made to march to Saint Cloud, to overthrow by main force the system of national representation established by the Convention. They thought then to draw all to themselves, and to receive at last the milliard that has been so often promised them: but, at this day, when they are banished into dull and insipid garrisons, at the bottom of woods and marshes; at this day, when they are sent to perish, like flies, at Cayenne, at Guadaloupe, and at Saint Domingo, and when they see only a small number of favourites engross all the rewards, they burn with jealousy, and with the desire to avenge their wrongs. And wherefore marches he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) in public, with so many guards in his suite, and so much pride! It is because fortune often wonderfully seconds great criminals: but let his good fortune totter an instant, as much as he was dreaded in the evening, so much will he be despised on the morrow; unless we are duped by the names of concord and peace, that he has given to his crime, and to the parricide that he has commited on his country. He (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) takes great care to say, that tranquillity will never have place in France, unless the proscribed remain deprived of their property; unless the acquirers of the national domains enjoy their horrible prey in safety; unless justice be at his disposal, and he alone possess all the rights, that heretofore were the portion of the sovereign people. If you would enjoy peace and concord, approve of all the revolutions and all the murders that have taken place in the Republic; sanction the laws that have been imposed upon you; receive tranquillity with slavery, and shew to posterity, by your example, that a man may make himself master of the Roman people, by causing them to spill their own blood. As for me, if I have ever sought to be any thing, it is in order to defend the liberty and the dignity of the people, and the sacred rights that our fathers have left us. I have never sought to make a disgraceful fortune, and I have preferred the storms of a liberty, difficult of attainment, to the deadly tranquillity of slavery. If you are of my opinion, Frenchmen, present yourselves; and after having invoked the assistance of the gods, name Camille your Consul and your Chief, in the bold enterprize of the recovery of your liberty."—To the great scandal, disgrace, and danger of the said Napoleon Buonaparté; to the great danger of creating discord between our said Lord the King and his subjects, and the said Napoleon Buonaparté, the French Republic, and the citizens of the said Republic; to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

Third Count.—That said Jean Peltier, so being such person as aforesaid, afterwards (to wit) on the 26th of August, in the forty-second year of the reign aforesaid, at the parish of Saint Anne, within the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein, among other things, divers other scandalous and malicious matters, in the French language, of and concerning said Napoleon Buonaparté, according to the tenor following, that is to say:—" Eh bien, ce tigre qui ose se dire le fondateur ou le régénérateur de la France, jouit du fruit de vos travaux comme d'une dépouille enlevée aux ennemis. Il n'est pas rassasié de la destruction du Roi ni de tant de braves, ni de tant de Princes, que la guerre a moissonnés; il devient et plus avide et plus cruel dans des circonstances où la prospérité change chez la plupart des hommes la fureur en pitié."—Which said scandalous and malicious words, in the French language, last above-mentioned and set forth, being translated into the English language, were and are of the same signification and meaning, as these English words, following, that is to say:—" And now this tiger, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) who dares to call himself the founder or regenerator of France, enjoys the fruit of your labours, as of spoil taken from the enemy. He is not satisfied with the destruction of the King, nor of so many brave men, nor of so many Princes, whom the war has mown down: he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) becomes more covetous and more cruel, in circumstances under which prosperity changes fury into pity among the greater part of mankind." To the great scandal, disgrace, and danger of the said Napoleon Buonaparté; to the great danger of creating discord between our said Lord the King and his subjects, and the said Napoleon Buonaparté, the French Republic, and the citizens of the said Republic, in contempt of our

said Lord the King and his laws; to the evil example of all others, in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

Fourth Count.—That said Jean Peltier, so being such person as aforesaid, and unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending as aforesaid, afterwards, (to wit) on the 26th of August, in the forty-second year of the reign aforesaid, at the parish of St. Anne, within the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein, among other things, divers other scandalous and malicious matters in the French language, of and concerning the said Napoleon Buonaparté, according to the tenor following, that is to say:—" Il faut agir, citoyens; il faut marcher, il faut s'opposer à ce qui se passe, si vous voulez qu'il ne s'empare pas de toutes vos dépouilles; surtout point de délais, point de vœux inutiles; ne comptez que sur vous, à moins que vous n'ayez la stupidité de croire qu'il se mettra en danger de gaîté de cœur, en abdiquant par ennui ou par honte de la tyrannie ce qu'il possede à force de crimes. Mais il s'est avancé au point qu'il ne regarde plus à la gloire, mais à sa propre sécurité; et qu'il n'estime honorable que ce qui lui sert à conserver sa puissance. C'est ainsi qu'il a organisé récemment une compagnie dite de Mamelouks, composée de Grecs, de Maltais, d'Arabes, et de Cophtes, ramas de bandits étrangers dont le nom et l'uniforme rappellant l'expédition insensée et désastreuse d'Egypte, servent à le couvrir de honte; mais qui ne parlant point notre langue, et n'ayant aucun point de contact avec l'armée, seront toujours les satellites du tyran, ses muets, ses sicaires, et ses bourreaux."—Which said scandalous and malicious words, in the French language, last above-mentioned and set forth, being translated into the English language, were and are of the same signification and meaning as these English words following, that is to say:—" You must act, citizens, you must march, you must oppose what is passing, if you wish that he, (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) should not seize upon all that you have. Above all, no delay, no useless wishes, reckon only upon yourselves; unless, indeed, you have the stupidity to suppose, that he will wantonly expose himself to danger, by abdicating, through weariness, or shame of tyranny, that which he holds by force of crimes. But he is advanced to the point that he looks no more towards the glory, but to his own security, and that he esteems nothing honourable, but what conduces to the preservation of his power. It is thus that he (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) has organized a company of Mamelouks, as they are called, composed of Greeks, Maltese, Arabians, and Copts, a collection of foreign banditti, whose name and dress, recalling the mad and disastrous Egyptian expedition, serve to cover him with shame, but who, not speaking our language, nor having any point of contact with the army, will always be the satellites of the tyrant (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté) his mutes, his cut-throats, and his hangmen."—To the great scandal, disgrace, and danger of the said Napoleon Buonaparté, to the great danger of creating discord between our said Lord the King and his subjects, and the said Napoleon Buonaparté, the French Republic, and the citizens of the said Republic; in contempt of our said Lord the King, and his laws, to the evil example of all others, in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

Fifth Count.—That the said Jean Peltier, so being such person as aforesaid, and unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending, as aforesaid, afterwards (to wit) on the 26th of August, in the forty-second year of the reign aforesaid, at the parish of Saint Anne, within the liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein, among other things, divers other scandalous and malicious matters in the French language, of and concerning the said Napoleon Buonaparté, according to the tenor following, that is to say:—" Quelques satellites et agens favoris, tels que Siéyès et certains généraux, ont reçu, pour prix de leurs forfaits, le patrimoine dont l'innocent a été dépouillé. Les lois, la justice, les finances, l'administration, les souverains de l'Europe, enfin la liberté et la vie des citoyens, tout est au pouvoir d'un seul homme. Vous voyez à chaque moment des arrestations arbitraires, des juges punis pour avoir acquitté des citoyens, des individus mis à mort après avoir été déjà acquittés par un jugement légal, et des condamnations à mort arrachées aux juges par la menace. Reste-t-il à des hommes qui veulent être dignes de ce nom autre chose à faire qu'à venger leur injure ou à périr avec gloire?"—Which said scandalous and malicious words, in the French language, last above-mentioned and set forth, being translated into the English language, were and are of the same signification and meaning as these English words following, that is to say:—" Some satellites and favoured agents, such as Sieyes, and certain generals, have received for the price of their crimes, the patrimony of which the innocent has been despoiled. The laws, justice, the finances, the administration, the sovereigns of Europe, in fine, the liberty and the life of the citizens, are all in the power of one man (meaning the said Napoleon Buonaparté). You see at every moment arbitrary arrests, judges punished for having acquitted citizens, individuals put to death, after having been already acquitted by a lawful sentence, and sentences of death extorted from judges by threats. Remains there for men, who would deserve that name, any thing else to do, but to avenge their wrongs or to perish with glory?"—To the great scandal, disgrace, and danger of the said Napoleon Buonaparté; to the great danger of creating discord between our said Lord the King and his subjects, and the said Napoleon Buonaparté, the French Republic, and the citizens of the said Republic; in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.—Whereupon the said Attorney-General of our said Lord the King, who, for our said Lord the King, in this behalf prosecuteth for our said Lord the King, prayeth the consideration of the Court here in the premises, and that due process of law may be awarded against him, the said Jean Peltier, in this behalf, to make him answer to our said Lord the King, touching and concerning the premises aforesaid.

Observations on Mr. Peltier's Trial, from the Moniteur.—Paris, March 2, 1803.

A person of the name of Peltier has been found

guilty, before a court of justice, at London, of printing and publishing some wretched libels against the First Consul. It is not easy to imagine why the English ministry should affect to make this a matter of so much eclat.—As it has been said in the English newspapers, that the trial was instituted at the demand of the French government, and that the French ambassador was even in the court when the Jury gave in their verdict; we have authority to deny *(démentir)* that any such things ever took place. The First Consul was even ignorant of the existence of Peltier's libels, till they came to his knowledge in the public accounts of the proceedings at this trial.—All the civilised nations of Europe, have, in the system of their mutual relations and dependencies, certain reciprocal duties to fulfil, which they ought to respect so much the more, because a different conduct, which fails not to have in every country, its partisans, could tend only to restore the reign of barbarism and anarchy.—It is, therefore, not easy to imagine, what interest England can have to encourage, and authorise all those scurrilities of infamy, which the libellers of that country are incessantly propagating; as little easy is it to imagine, why it should afford protection to the French libellers who settled there during the war, as to conceive what useful purpose could be answered by a proceeding of such pomp and ostentation.—The *Alien Bill* gives power to the English ministry to send strangers out of that country at pleasure. That power the ministry largely avails itself of. Above twenty Frenchmen, who lived in settled residence, and were well known in England, have been, without any formality, sent out of that country. Within these few days Citizen Bonnecarrere, a chief of battalion of the national guard at Paris, being at London, to prosecute a suit at law, and having his wife there sick, received orders to quit the country in forty-eight hours. * * *—We know others who, after a residence of thirty years in London, have been sent out of the country with equal abruptness and rigour. To what purpose, then, drag, with ostentation, before respectable courts, foreign libellers who are only such as naturally arise in the end of any great political commotion. If Lord Pelham's Under Secretaries should only hint to them to cease to write, they must, per force, obey. Should they not, they might, under the *Alien Bill*, be sent out of the kingdom.--The King of England owes it to his own personal dignity, and to the honour of the nation, to put an end to the outrages of his subjects against a neighbouring government and nation with which he is at peace, and to which he gives the presence of an Ambassador not less exalted in rank than amiable and respectable in his personal qualities.—Yet it is to be acknowledged, that these proceedings, however useless in other respects, have afforded an occasion to the Judges who presided at the trial, to evince, by their wisdom and impartiality, that they are truly worthy to administer justice in a nation so enlightened, and estimable in so many respects.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

View of the State of the Republic; presented to the Legislative Body by order of the Government. Paris, February 22, 1803.—*(Continued from page* 309.*)*

The canals of Argues, Mortes, and the Rhone, the draining of the marshes of the Lower Charente are begun, and will open new channels to commerce, and afford new lands for cultivation. Works are going forward for the reparation of the dykes of the isle of Cadsand, of Ostend, of the Côtes du Nord, and the re-establishment of the navigation of our rivers. This navigation is no longer given up solely to the labours and the cares of Government. The owners of boats plying on these rivers have already felt that it was their patrimony, and they fix on themselves the taxes by which the works are to be kept in proper repair. On the ocean forts are erecting to cover the roads of the isle of Aix, and to protect the vessels of the Republic. Every where funds are raised for the reparation and improvement of our ports. A new bason and locked sluices will terminate the harbour of Havre, and will form an excellent port for the commerce of La Manche. A company of pilots is formed to secure the safe navigation of L'Escaut, and to free foreign pilots from the danger to which an unknown navigation must expose them. —At Antwerp labours are begun, which will have the effect of restoring to its commerce its ancient celebrity, and the Government has in contemplation a plan for forming canals to unite the navigation of the Escaut, the Meuse, and the Rhine, to give to our docks those materials of wood which grows in our own soil, and to our manufactures a perfection which the manufacturers of other countries dispute with us on our own territory.—The Islands of Martinique, Tobago, and St. Lucie have been restored to us, with all the elements of prosperity. Guadaloupe, re-conquered and pacified, returns to cultivation. Guiana rises from a long protracted intancy, and assumes a flourishing appearance.—St. Domingo had submitted, and the author of its troubles was in France. Every thing announced the return of prosperity, but a cruel malady delivered it up to new miseries. At length the scourge which desolated our army has ceased its ravages. The forces which now are on the island, and those which will speedily arrive from our different ports, guarantee the prospect of its speedy return to peace and to commercial pursuits.—Vessels are setting sail for the Isles of France and Re-union, and for India.—Our maritime commerce is seeking to renew its ancient connexions, to form new relations, and by these efforts it gains new strength. Already happy experience and wise encouragements have reanimated a spirit for engaging in the fishery which was long the patrimony of France. Commercial expeditions still more important are formed or projected for the West-India Colonies, the Isle of France, and the East-Indies.—Marseilles resumes in the Mediterranean its ancient ascendancy.—Chambers of Commerce have been restored in the cities where they formerly existed. New ones have been established in those places, which by the extent of their operations and the importance of their manufactures, have appeared to deserve them. In these associations, formed by persons whose situation entitles them to the honour of choosing the members, the spirit, as well as the science of commerce will revive. There its interests will be developed, inseparable from the interests of the State. The merchant will there learn to place, in preference to riches, the consideration which honours them, and before the enjoyments of a vain luxury, that wise economy which fixes the esteem of his fellow-citizens and the confidence of strangers.—Deputies, chosen from the different chambers, will discuss, in the presence of Government, the interests of commerce and manufactures, and the laws and regulations which circumstances may require.—In our forces, by sea and land, instruction and

the love of discipline are sedulously inculcated. Responsibility becomes more rigid in our military corps. An economical Administration has succeeded to the dilapidating system of contracts. The soldier, better fed and better clothed, understands economy, and his savings, which he throws into the common stock, attach him to his standard as well as to his family.—Every branch of our finances becomes more productive. The collection of direct contribution is less rigorous with regard to the contributors. In the year six it was reckoned that about 50 millions were in the hands of the collectors of taxes, and payments were 3 or 4 years in arrears. At this moment the sum in the hands of the collectors is not above 3 millions, and the contributions are paid even before they are due.—All the rules which have been made, and all the plans of Administration which have been formed, give a produce still increasing. The rules applicable to the registering of commercial transactions is productive to a degree, which attests the rapid movements of capital and the multiplicity of business which is transacted.—In the midst of so many signs of prosperity, the excess of the direct contributions is still made a ground of complaint.—The Government has learnt from every one versed in the principles of taxation, that the surcharge consisted chiefly in the inequality of the mode in which the taxes were imposed. Measures have been taken, and are carrying into effect, to ascertain the real inequalities which exist in the different departments. In the course of the year 12, regular and simultaneous operations will have ascertained what is the relation which ought to exist betwixt the contributions of the different departments, and what in each department is the just rate of the land tax. The moment that a certain result has been fixed, the Government will give orders for those alterations which justice requires. But in the course of this year, and without waiting for those results, it will propose an important diminution in the land tax.—Innovations are still proposed in our financial system; but every change is an evil, if it cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated that certain advantage would result from it. The Government will seek from time and from discussions, weighed with all possible care, the maturity of these projects which inexperience often hazards; which they support by those past examples, the memory of which has been almost effaced from the public mind, and on the financial doctrines of a nation which, by unnatural and exaggerated efforts, has broke through every measure of public contribution and expenditure.—With an increase of revenue which no one ventured to calculate, extraordinary circumstances have led to wants which it was impossible to foresee.—It was necessary to reconquer two of our colonies, and to re-establish in all, the power and the government of the mother country.—It was necessary, by means sudden and too extended to admit of rigid economy, to procure subsistence for the capital and several of the departments. At least, however, the success of the Government has been equal to its efforts, and after these vast exertions, resources remain henceforth to guarantee the capital against the return of want, and to disconcert the projects of monopoly.—In the methodized statement of the Minister of Finance will be found a general view of the annual contributions and the different branches of the public revenue, what was their amount during the last year, what prospect of amelioration existed; whether, from the mode of administration or the progress of public prosperity, what have been in the different departments of the ministry, the elements of expenditure during the year ten; what are the sums still remaining to be paid for that and former years; what resources exist to cover them, whether arising from outstanding arrears of taxes, or from the extraordinary funds appropriated to pay off the debts contracted in these years, and which have not yet been exhausted; what is the actual amount of the public debt; what has been its increase, how it has been diminished by natural causes, and how its extinction has been affected by the sinking fund.—In the account of the Minister of the Public Treasury will be seen a statement of the receipts, the payments of the year ten, what belongs to the different branches of the revenue, what is chargeable in each year and on each part of the Administration.—The united accounts of the two Ministers will form a complete table of our financial situation. The Government hold up with equal satisfaction the picture which it presents to its friends and its detractors, to citizens and to foreigners.—After authorizing the foreseen expense of the year 12, and appropriating the necessary revenues, objects of the greatest interest will occupy the attention of the Legislative Body. It is necessary to introduce a change into our system of coinage. The Custom-house duties must be reorganized, so as more effectually to check the progress of contraband trade. It is at length essential to give to France that civil code so long promised and so long expected.—Above all, projets of laws have been formed under the observation of Government, and matured in conferences where commissions from the Council of State and the Tribunate were animated only by the love of truth and regard for the public interest. The same sentiments, the same principles will guide the deliberation of the Legislators, and secure to the Republic the wisdom, and the impartiality of the laws which are adopted.—On the Continent, every thing offers us pledges of repose and tranquillity.—The Italian Republic, since the proceedings at Lyons, has been daily strengthening itself by the more intimate union of the people of whom it is composed. The happy harmony among the authorities by which it is governed, its internal administration, its military force already give it the character, and the attitude of a state long established, and if wisdom preserve them they guarantee to it a destiny of uninterrupted prosperity.—Liguria, placed under a mixed constitution, sees at its head, and in the bosom of its authorities, all those of its citizens, the most estimable for their virtues, by their illumination and their fortune.—New shocks have convulsed the Helvetic Republic. The government owed its support to neighbours, whose repose was essential to the repose of France, and it will use every exertion to ensure the success of its mediation, and with it the happiness of a people whose position, whose habits, and whose interests make it the necessary ally of France.—Batavia successively takes possession of the colonies which the peace restored to her.—She will ever remember that France must ever be her most useful friend or her most destructive foe.—In Germany the last stipulations of the treaty of Luneville are carrying into effect.—Prussia, Bavaria, all the Secular Princes who had possessions on the left bank of the Rhine will obtain on the right bank suitable indemnities.—The House of Austria finds in the bishopricks of Salzburgh, Aischtett, Trent, and Brixen, and the greatest part of Pau, more than

it had lost in Tuscany. Thus, by the happy co-operation of France and Russia, all permanent interests are conciliated, and from the bosom of that tempest which seemed ready to overwhelm it, the Germanic Empire, that empire so necessary to the equilibrium and the repose of Europe, rises more powerful, composed of elements more homogeneous, better combined and more adapted to the circumstances and opinions of the present age.—A French Ambassador is at Constantinople, charged with renewing and fortifying the ties which attach us to a power which seems to be threatened with destruction, but which it is our interest to sustain and to support the foundations by which it is upheld..—The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediteranean. The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the desire of all nations. For its preservation, the government will do every thing compatible with national honour, essentially connected with the strict execution of the treaties.—But in England, two parties maintain a contest for power. One of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. Hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counsels which prevails.—Hence that attitude, at the same time pacific and menacing.—While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the government is called upon to adopt. 500,000 men ought to be, and shall be ready to undertake its defence, and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace.—Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations —the government says, with conscious pride, that *England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France.* —But we have better hopes, and we believe that in the British cabinet, nothing will be listened to, but the counsels of wisdom and the voice of humanity.—Yes, doubtless, the peace will daily be more consolidated. The relation of the two governments, will assume that character of goodwill which is suitable to their mutual interests. A happy repose will bury the recollection of the long calamities of a disastrous war, and France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world. —The First Consul. (Signed) *Buonaparté.*—By order of the First Consul, the secretary of state, *H. B. Maret.*

Report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, to whom was referred that Part of the President's Message which relates to discriminating and countervailing Duties, and to the Act of the British Parliament on that Subject.—New York, January 21, 1803.—That a duty of 6 cents per ton is by law imposed on all American ships entering any of the ports of the U. States, from a foreign port, and on any ship or vessel, not of the U. States, 50 cents per ton; and that an additional duty of 10 per cent. on the duties payable on goods, wares or merchandize, imported in American bottoms, has invariably been imposed on such goods, wares, and merchandize, when imported in foreign ships or vessels.—That those discriminating duties have tended greatly to increase the navigation of the U. States, have given to the Shipowners an advantage over foreigners in the carriage to the U. States of salt, wine, brandy, sugar, coffee, blankets and other coarse woollens, coarse linens, hemp, earthen-ware, and other bulky articles, and have enabled them to be almost exclusively the carriers of all the fine articles of importation necessary to the consumption of the country. This policy, combined with the advantages resulting from the late war in Europe, had increased the American tonnage to an amount (it is believed) not inferior to that of any nation in Europe, except G. Britain.

The effects of these discriminating duties did not escape the observations of those foreign nations with whom we have had the greatest commercial intercourse.

By the 15th art. of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, dated London 19th Nov. 1794 —" The Brit. Government has reserved the right of countervailing those discriminating duties—and the U. States bound themselves not to impose any new or additional duty on the tonnage of Brit. ships or vessels, or to increase the then subsisting difference between the duties payable on the importation of any article in Brit. or American ships."—It is believed by your Committee, that the Parliament of G. Brit. by a statute passed the 4th July, 1797, (in the exercise of that reserved right) have exceeded the fair intent and meaning of the treaty of amity, &c. &c. and thereby have secured to the Shipowners of that nation the exclusive carriage to G. Brit. (in time of peace) of some of our most important objects of exportation.—They have selected fish-oil and tobacco (articles of great bulk) as objects on which the highest countervailing duties have been imposed. The countervailing duty on fish-oil being 36s. 3d. 12-20 sterling per ton of 252 gallons, and upon tobacco 1s. 6d. per 100 lbs.—In consequence of which a Brit. ship of 250 tons, carrying 250 tons of oil to G. Brit. from the U. States, will pay 453l. 15s. st. less duty thereon than the same oil would pay imported into G. Brit. in an American ship; the whole freight on such quantity of oil would have been prior to the late war only 625l. st.—the nett freight to an American ship (after deducting the countervailing duty of 452l. 15s.) would of course be only 171 5s. st.—By the same operation, a Brit. ship of 250 tons, carrying 400 hhds. of tobacco, of 1200lbs. each, to G. Brit. from the U. States, would pay 360l. st. less duty than would be payable on the same quantity of tobacco imported in an American ship—the whole freight at 35s. st. per hhd. would only amount to 700l. st. which (after deducting the countervailing duty of 360l.) would leave to the American a nett freight of only 344l. 1s. st.—Rice, when imported into G. Brit. in an American ship, is charged with a duty of eight pence 8-10 st. per cwt. more than when imported in a Brit. ship; this extra duty amounts on a tierce of rice to 3s. 9d. st; the freight of a tierce of rice may be estimated at 12s. st. No persons will give 15s. 9d. freight in an American ship, when

he can have the same carried for 12s in a Brit. ship.—Pot and pearl-ashes pay a countervailing duty of 2. 14. 15d. the cwt. A cask of ashes contains about 3 cwt.: the extra duty on that by an American ship will be 9d. per barrel; the freight of such barrel is presumed to be 5s. or 5s. 6d.st. in times of peace; a difference of 9d.st. per barrel, will effectually give the carriage to Brit. ships, of all the ashes exported from the U. States to G. Brit.—The Committee take leave to refer the House to a Table of Duties imposed by G. Brit. on goods imported in American and Brit. ships, which was printed the last Session of Congress, and is herewith exhibited (No. 3. *see v. 1. p.* 419.) On recurring thereto, an important countervail in the articles of wood of all kinds, a small one in tar, turpentine, pitch, and other articles, will be discovered.—The Committee take leave to state, that the Parl. of G. Brit., by a statute bearing date the 7th of May, 1802, has imposed the following new additional duties on articles the produce and manufacture of the U. States, viz.

Ashes, pot and pearl	1s. 6d.	the cwt.
Ginseng - - -	6s.	the 100 bls.
Indigo (American)	12s.	the 100 bls.
Bar Iron - - -	4s. 6d.	the ton.
Pig Iron - - -	4s. 6d.	the ton.
Pitch - - - -	3s. 8d.	the last of twelve
Tar - - - -	2s. 11d.	[barrels.
Rosin - - -	4d.	the 100 bls.
Rice - - - -	8d.	the cwt.
Tobacco - -	3s.	the 100 bls.
Turpentine -	2s.	the ton.
Bees-wax - -	5s. 9d.	the cwt.
Cotton (American)	7s. 10d.	the 100 bls.

The countervailing duty of 10 per cent. being also levied on all those new duties (except that on tobacco), adds farther to the injury already sustained by the American ships carrying such articles, and secures to Brit. ships the exclusive carriage of the following articles, in addition to the objects already mentioned, viz. indigo, iron, ginseng, bees-wax, and the important and bulky article of cotton. Prior to the passing of the Brit. statute of May last, Amer. cot. and indigo were free of duty on importation into G. Brit. the countervailing duty on indigo will (in consequence of the duty above stated) be 1s. 2d. 4-10 per 100lbs. That on cotton nine pence 4 10th the 100 lbs. The freight of 100 lbs. of cotton may be estimated, in times of peace, at about 8s. 4d. st.; the difference of 9d on 8s. 4d. will give a decided preference to Brit. over American ships.—Thus, then, it appears, that G. Brit. by her countervailing act, has secured effectually the carrying (for her own wants and her foreign commerce) of our fish-oil, tobacco, pot and pearl-ashes, rice, indigo, and cotton, and having the carriage of those bulky articles, the minor objects (except naval stores) not being sufficiently important to form entire cargoes, will also be carried in Brit. ships.—The Committee take leave farther to state, that by the same satute of G. Brit., of the 7th of May last, a duty of ½ per cent. is imposed on all goods, wares and merchandize, (of the growth or manufacture of G. Brit.) on their exportation to any port in Europe, or within the Streights of Gibraltar, and of one per cent. on similar goods, when exported to any place, not being in Europe, or within the Streights of Gibraltar; thus subjecting the U. States to a duty on exports double that which is paid by the nations of Europe. This discrimination your Committee believe to be in contradiction to the spirit of the Treaties existing between the U. States and G. Brit.—By the statute of G. Brit., passed the 4th July, 1797, a duty of tonnage was imposed on American ships entering her ports, of 2s. st. per ton. which is admitted as a fair countervail of the discriminating duty of 44 cents. per ton, on their ships entering the ports of the U. States.—From the preceding view of the subject, it appears to your Committee, that American vessels will be preferred to Brit. for the carrying of all the fine manufactures of G. Brit.; but that the decided advantages that Brit. ships *now have* over Americans, in the carriage of all the bulky and important articles of the U. States, necessary for the consumption of foreign commerce of G. Brit., will enable their Owners to enter into an advantageous competition with the Americans in the carrying from G. Brit. to the U. States, of Brit salt, and of all the coarse and bulky articles of the produce and manufacture of G. Brit. for instance: Malt is charged with only 2 cents. per bushel more when imported in a foreign ship, than when imported in an American ship; this small extra duty has never prevented its importation in Brit. ships.—Earthenware—a crate thereof will cost about 5 l. st. The usual peace freight of such a crate presumed to be about 20 or 25 s. st.; the extra duty thereon, being only 1s. 6d. st., would be paid by the Owner of a Brit. ship rather than not obtain the freight.—Blankets—a bale of ten pieces will cost about 40l. st. The usual peace freight about 35s. st.; the extra duty payable, if imported on a Brit. ship, will be 10s. st.—Wool Hats, Osnaburgs, sail, canvas, kerseys, negro cottons, flannel, baize, half-thicks, and in truth, all woollen cloths under 2s. st. per yard; beer, porter, and a variety of other bulky articles, pay an extra duty, so small when compared with the freight of such goods, that the Owners of Brit. ships, when assured of a full return freight from the U. States to G. Brit. will find it their interest to agree to pay the extra duty payable on such goods when imported into the U. States in foreign ships or vessels.—France also has taken measures to meet the operation of our discriminating duties. In the 2d year of the Fr. Rep. *a Decree* (*relative to the Act of Navigation of that Nation*) was passed, by which a duty of tonnage of 50 sols per ton was imposed on foreign vessels entering the ports of France, and of 6 sols per ton on French vessels.—In the 3d year of the Fr. Repub., a law was passed, imposing a duty of 18 liv. 15 sols per quintal on tobacco imported in Fr. vessels, and of 25 liv. on tobacco imported into the ports of France in foreign vessels; which duty has since been increased to 30 liv. per quintal, when imported in foreign ships, and to 20 liv. when in Fr. ships; making a difference of 120 liv. or 22 dollars and 90 cents. per hhd. of 1200 lbs. against the importation of tobacco into France in American vessels. This discriminating duty amounts, in fact, to the prohibiting of the importation of tobacco in Ame-

rican vessels into France.—Your Committee further state, that, by a late law, France has imposed a discriminating duty of 50 per cent. on the duties payable on sugar, coffee, cocoa, and other W. India goods, when imported in Fr. ships, or similar goods when imported in foreign ships into her ports.—The Committee take leave to exhibit herewith [No. 1.] statement of exports, imports, and tonnage, as they relate to France, G. Brit. and the U. States. And a statement [No. 2.] shewing the exports from the U. States to the European ports of G. Brit. and France, of the following articles, to wit :—Pot and pearl-ashes, ginseng, iron, pitch, rosin, rice, tobacco, tar, fish-oil, turpentine, bees-wax and cotton, and the total value of exports to those nations for the year 1802.—Sweden and Denmark have laws imposing discriminating duties highly favourable to their carrying trade. Spain also, by its navigation laws, gives important advantages to its own shipping over those of foreign nations trading to her ports. Holland also has her discriminating duties, which in their consequences are injurious to the commercial interest of the U. States.—Two modes have presented themselves to your Committee, to obviate the disadvantages resulting to the carrying trade of the U. States, from the countervailing and discriminating duties already recited. The one to increase our discriminating duties, so as to meet the injuries now experienced from the operation of those and the countervailing duties of other nations. The other to relinquish our discriminating duties, so far as they relate to goods, wares and merchandize, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the nation to which the ship by whom the same are imported may belong, in favour of such foreign nation, as will agree to abolish such of their discriminating or countervailing duties as are in their operation injurious to the interest of the U. States.—The first mode would, in its consequences lead, to a commercial warfare between the U. States and foreign nations. Admit, for instance, that the U. States should increase her discriminating duties, will not foreign nations also increase theirs in every instance, and at every time that the U. States shall pursue their plan of increase? If so, your Committee are at a loss to conceive what benefit could arise to the interest of the U. States from such a system.—The 2nd mode appears to your Committee more consistent with the true interest, as well as with the peaceful disposition of the U. States. They, therefore, submit the following resolutions :—Res., That so much of the several Acts, imposing duties on the tonnage of ships and vessels, and on goods, wares and merchandize, imported into the U. States, as imposes a discriminating duty on tonnage, between foreign vessels and vessels of the U. States, and between goods imported into the U. States in foreign vessels and vessels of the U. States, ought to be repealed; so far as the same respects the produce or manufacture of the nation to which such foreign ships or vessels may belong—such repeal to take effect in favour of any foreign nations, whenever the President shall be satisfied that the discriminating or countervailing duties of such foreign nations, so far as they operate to the disadvantage of the U. States, have been abolished.

No. 1.—*Statement of the Exports of the United States, from the 1st of Oct. 1798, to the 30th of Sept. 99.*

Great Britain - - - -	26,546,987
France - - - - -	2,780,504

From the 1st of Oct. 1799, to 30th Sept. 1800.

Great Britain - - - -	27,310,289
France - - - - -	5,163,033

From the 1st of Oct. 1800, to 30th Sept. 1801.

Great Britain - - - -	42,132,032
France - - - - -	11,261,751

Statement of Imports of Goods subject to Duties ad valorem, from the 1st Oct. 1799, to the 30th Sept. 1800.

Great Britain	(American vessels) -	28,656,738
Ditto,	(Foreign vessels) -	2,451,096
		31,107,834
France,	(American vessels) - -	74,153
Ditto,	(Foreign vessels) - -	12,954
		87,130

For. No. of bushels of Salt	323,156	
American, ditto -	860,902	
American Tonnage for 1799		626,495
Foreign, for the same year		109,599
		736,094

No. 2.—*Exports to the European States of Great Britain and France, for the Year preceding the 30th Sept, 1802.*

	Great Britain.	*France.*
Ashes, Pot	1828 Tons.	819 Tons
Ashes, Pearl	1496 —	57 —
Genseng	57,485 lbs.	
Indigo	167,450 —	161,471 lbs.
Iron, Bar	16 Tons	
—— Pig	493 —	
Fish Oil	19,903 Galls.	127,128 Gals.
Pitch	519 Barr.	268 Bar.
Rosin	1,944 —	49 —
Rice	29,703 Tier.	7,186 Tier.
Tobacco	31,478 Hhds.	16,216 Hhds
Tar	13,131 Barr.	797 Bar.
Turpentine	36,232 —	173 —
Bees Wax	88,630 lbs.	27,182 lbs.
Cotton, Domestic	21,015,000 —	1,156,924 —
——Foreign	2,458,919 —	750,945 —
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*
Total Value of the Exports to each country.	16,467,238	7,611,237

No. 3.—*A Table, shewing the comparative Duties paid in the Ports of Great Britain, on Goods imported into Great Britain, in American, Foreign, and British bottoms since the 5th of Feb. 1798, so far as the same respect the commerce of the United States.* This valuable document will be found in our Register, Vol. I. p. 419.

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